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NEW SYSTEM;

OR, AN

ANALYSIS

OF

ANTIENT MYTHOLOGY:

WHEREIN AN ATTEMPT IS MADE TO DIVEST TRADITION OF FABLE; AND TO REDUCE THE TRUTH TO ITS ORIGINAL PURITY.

BY JACOB BRYANT, ESQ.

THE THIRD EDITION.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

WITH A PORTRAIT AND

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR;

A VINDICATION OF THE APAMEAN MEDAL;

Observations and Inquiries relating to various Parts of Antient History;

A COMPLETE INDEX,

AND FORTY-ONE PLATES, NEATLY ENGRAVED.

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OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

ANTIENT HISTORY OF EGYPT;

AND THE

NATIONS THAT WERE CONNECTED WITH IT:

WHEREIN AN ACCOUNT IS GIVEN OF

THE SHEPHERD KINGS AND THE ISRAELITES:

AND THE PLACE WHERE THEY BOTH RESIDED IS DETERMINED.

The whole calculated to rectify in some degree the Chronology and Geography of that Kingdom: and to clear up the Difficulties with which they have hitherto been attended.

WE are informed in the *Mosaic* account of the sojournment of the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, that the place of their allotment was the land of *Goshen*. As *Egypt* was very spacious, and consisted of many large prefectures, as well as subordinate districts, it has employed the wit of many eminent writers to determine to which of these this particular land is to be ascribed. Some have thought that it was situated in the fields of *Zoan*. But where are the fields of *Zoan?* Others, at the entrance into the country, of which it was a portion. In short, it

has been placed in *Egypt*; out of *Egypt*; upon the *Red Sea;* and upon the borders of *Canaan;* just as people's fancies have directed them. These, and many more, have been the opinions of writers upon this subject; who, being guided merely by caprice have advanced notions not only unsupported by any evidence, but often contradictory to the best accounts in history, and to the very authorities that they appeal to. The greatest part of what these authors advance consists of a dry investigation, which is carried on by a train of unwarrantable suppositions, not at all edifying or satisfactory, though enforced with a great deal of learning. In inquiries after mathematical truths, the process is very different. We advance upon some sure grounds, proceeding from one truth to another, till we arrive at the knowledge required. And we have been taught the same way of reasoning in the researches that we make in nature. Some data are first stated; some determined and undeniable principles laid down, which are examined and compared: and then, by fair inferences and necessary deductions we arrive at the truth. Hence have arisen those great improvements, that for this last century have been made in every branch of philosophy: much to the honour of our island; where this method of investigation was first recommended and introduced, and has been continually prosecuted with the greatest diligence and success; to the discouragement of all hypothesis and unwarrantable conjecture.

It is true, that in historical disquisitions we cannot expect mathematical certainty; much less can we obtain experimental knowledge: the nature of the evidence will not admit of such a proof. Yet there are not wanting proper data to proceed upon; matters of fact well stated, that are illustrated by other contingencies, especially such as have been never controverted. There is oftentimes, in respect to an historical transaction, such a connection and correspondence with other events; so marvellous a coincidence of collateral circumstances, as produces an internal proof superior to the testimony of the writer, through whose hands we receive the account. So that we yield our assent, not merely on the credibility of the narrator: but from being certified in our belief, by an aggregate of circumstances, credible of themselves singly; but of infinite force and influence, when they are brought collectively to a point, and operate together. From hence many truths may be deduced; such as we may fairly assent to; and of which we may be morally certain. And the evidence resulting in this case is as home and satisfactory, as any that is founded on mathematical knowledge; and the assent we yield to it is as determined and full. But it may be said, that, in very remote inquiries we cannot always obtain this satisfactory light: and, though no one can well hesitate to pronounce that there was once such a country as *Chaldæa* or *Egypt:*

yet there are many circumstances relating to the origin and chronology of those kingdoms; many particulars that regard the history and situation of their cities, of which we cannot be so acurately informed. All this is true: and, where we cannot obtain the light we wish for, we must rest contented with what can be procured: and if there really be none, we should take care not to make use of a false light to bewilder ourselves, and to mislead others. This caution cannot be too religiously observed: that we do not impose upon our own judgment; and fancy that we see light, when there is none; and then endeavour to captivate the ignorant and unwary by illusions of our own raising. In short, let us not go merely on surmise; but have some grounds, whereon to found our conjectures. Let us not proceed blindly in a track, we are unacquainted with; and then support our reveries with wicked wit and illicit learning. How often do writers obtrude upon their readers a bare possibility for a probability, and make inferences in consequence of it? arguing from the silence of authors; from terms relative and comparative; from a supposed convenience and expediency, which they frame in the luxuriancy of their fancy, but which no where else is to be found. How often do they pitch upon a circumstance, the least to be depended on, to determine all the rest? where the first position is as doubtful as the second, or any which are inferred from it: so that every step they take, they recede farther and farther from

the truth. And, during the whole course of their inquiries, they are too apt to magnify and enhance on one hand, and to soften and extenuate on the other; according as the evidence suits, or is unfavourable to their purpose. Nor is this to be observed among people of low endowments only, and of a moderate degree of literature: many writers of exquisite talents and an ample share of learning, are misled by the like prejudices: by which means much embarrassment and perplexity has ensued; and an obscurity been cast on some interesting parts of history. This has been in great measure owing to their not having originally set out upon something well known and assured: by neglecting which they have misapplied much good learning, and given a sanction to a multiplicity of errors. For the bane of truth is ill-grounded conjecture; and the more ingeniously it is supported, the greater is the evil. These errors are particularly fatal in geographical inquiries; and generally very complicated. For every city and district being in the vicinity of some other, if one is, through the whim and capriciousness of a writer, misplaced; all that have a connexion with it must suffer a change in their situation; in order to keep up that relation and correspondence, which must necessarily subsist between them. As I would not have expressed myself with so much severity, if I had not good reason for what I alledge; I will, with the reader's leave, lay before him some instances of the unwarrantable assump-

tions that writers have made bold with, and a complication of mistakes in consequence of them.

As I purpose to make some inquiries into the antient history of *Egypt;* I will begin with this question, Where was the land of *Goshen?* The ingenious *Lakemacher,*[1] in order to investigate this point, looks out first for the place of residence of *Pharaoh.* This he presumes was *Zoan:* and *Zoan,* he says, was *Tanis.* He accordingly places it on the *Pelusiac* branch of the *Nile,* towards the bottom: and as *Goshen* is supposed to be near the residence of *Pharaoh,* it is placed to the east both of

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[1] *Jo. Gothofr. Lakemacheri Gr. et Orient. Ling. Prof. Ord. Observationes Philologicæ.* 3 vol. *Helmstadii.* 1730. See Vol. 2d. p. 297. and the map at page 1. *De situ Gosenitidis.* p. 314. *Ad eum verò indagandum ipsæ nobis Sacræ literæ adminicula nonnulla subministrant. Sunt autem hæc tria;* I. Gosenitis in eâ Ægypti parte fuit, quam qui ex Canaane advenirent primam intrabant. II. Vicina fuit Tani, sedi regiæ. III. Terra fuit pascuosa, pecoribusque alendis cum primis idonea—*Comperiemus utique sitam fuisse Gosenitidem in Ægypti anterioribus, Canaanem inter sedemque regiam, ubi nomos erat Bubasticus et Arabicus, simul cum parte quâdam Sethroïtæ: præsertim cum addatur loco posteriori Josephum curru juncto obviam processisse parenti in Gosenitidem.—Nam* גֹּשֶׁן, جوشن *in linguâ Arabicâ, cui haud dubiè cognata fuit Ægyptiaca,* loricam *sonat et* partem anteriorem, *vestis quidem speciatim, sed et generatim cujuscunque rei.* He places *Tanis* upon the river of *Pelusium:* and to the east of it the *Arabian* nome, the nome of *Bubastus,* and part of the *Sethroïtic,* between that river and *Canaan.* Here was the land of *Goshen* situated according to him, in *Arabia* beyond the limits of *Delta.*

Tanis and the river, in *Arabia;* in a spot opposite to them. This allotment of *Goshen* necessarily determines the situation of many other places, that must be made to agree with it. For not only *Rameses* and *Pithom*, but the nome of *Bubastus*, with its city and appendages; and likewise that of *Heliopolis* must accord with this situation of *Goshen:* so that, if there be an error in the first principle, there will be found a sad series of mistakes, before we come to a conclusion. The chief points that he proceeds upon are these—" that " *Goshen* was in the way to *Egypt*, at the entrance " of it, as people came from *Canaan:* that it was " near to *Tanis*, and was a place of pastures: and " lastly, that the spot he attributes to *Goshen* had " this excellency; and was particularly adapted to " flocks and herds." I shall not enter into a detail of all his false reasoning: nor point out the passages in antient authors, that he has misapplied. Let it suffice, if I shew that he is fundamentally in the wrong; and has chosen a part of the world for the residence of the *Israelites*, that was never habitable. He was hurried on with a zeal for his hypothesis, and never in the least considered the natural history of the country he treats of: in which there was neither province nor city; for it was all a desert. *Pomponius Mela* mentions that one part of *Arabia*, which lay upon the *Red Sea*, was sufficiently fruitful: but from *Egypt* to the *Red Sea* (that is from

west to east) it was all a barren flat, [2] *plana et sterilis.* *Pliny* speaks to the same purpose: [3] *Arabia—sterilis, præterquam ubi Syriæ confinia attingit.—Agrippa a Pelusio Arsinoen Rubri maris oppidum per deserta* CXXV. M. *passuum tradit.* *Diodorus Siculus*, speaking of the same part of the country to the east of lower *Egypt*, says, that it was from north to south a wild, from *Pelusium* quite up to *Heliopolis*; [4] απο Πηλουσιου μεχρις Ηλιουπολεως δια της ερημου. *Strabo* is more full and to the purpose. [5] Η δε μεταξυ τε Νειλε και της Αραβιας κολπου Αραβια μεν εστι· και εστι γε των ανεχων αυτης ιδρυται το Πηλουσιον· αλλ' ερημος απασα εστι, και αβατος γραπτοπεδη.

Arabia, we find, commenced from the very *Nile*. *Pelusium* stood upon the extremity of it; from

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[2] *P. Mela.* lib. 1. cap. 10.

[3] *Plin.* Nat. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 11. Edit. Harduin.

[4] The words of *Diodorus* relate to the great work of *Sesostris*; who is said to have carried on a fortification from *Pelusium* as high up as *Heliopolis*, by way of defence to the anterior parts of *Egypt*. It was 1500 stadia in length, and went the whole way through the desert: απο Πηλουσιου μεχρις Ηλιουπολεως δια της ερημου, lib. 1. p. 36. Edit. Stephan. He in another place mentions *Egypt* as very difficult of access, on account of this desert; δυσπροσιτου φαντελως ουσης. lib. 15. p. 478. See *Jos. de Bell. Jud.* lib. 4. cap. 11. of *Titus*'s march; and *Polyb.* lib. 5. of the march of *Ptolemy* to *Gaza*.

[5] *Strabo*, vol. 2. p. 1155. Edit. Amst. 1707. δυσιοδολος εστιν η Αιγυπτος απ των εωθινων τοπων. ibid.

whence extended a vast desert, not fit for the march or encampment of an army. And he farther adds, that besides its being without water, its sands were full of reptiles, undoubtedly of a poisonous nature. Προς δε τω ανυδρους ειναι και αμμωδης ἑρπετων πληθος εχει των [6] αμμοδυτων. And in another place, mentioning the same part of *Arabia* from the *Nile* to the *Red Sea*, he represents it as a sandy waste, that could scarcely be passed, except on camels: δι ερημων δε και αμμωδων χωριων αι ὑπερβασεις εισι καμηλων. *Plutarch* assures us, that when *Antonius* marched his army from *Syria* towards *Egypt*, he and his soldiers had such apprehensions from this desert, and this particular part of the desert, that they esteemed it the worst enemy they had to encounter: [7] Επει δε τον πολεμον μαλλον εφοβειτο την επι το Πηλουσιον ὁδον, ἁτε δη δια ψαμμου βαθειας και ανυδρου, περι το ερημα και τα της Σερβωνιδος ἑλη γινομενης αυτοις της πορειας. Even the few towns upon the sea coast from *Palestine* to *Egypt* seem to have been very bare of the necessaries of life. One of them was *Ostracine*; where water was so scarce, that to desire drink of an inhabitant became a proverbial expression for asking alms of a beggar; [8] Αρδις μεν ουκ ηιτησαμην παρα σου, ὁτι

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[6] *Concolor exustis atque indiscretus arenis*
Ammodytes. *Lucan.* lib. 9. v. 715. See *Deut.* 8. v. 15.

[7] In Vit. Antonii.

[8] *Greg. Nazianz.* Epist. 46.

μηδε ὑδωρ παρα την Οστρακινην οικειλων. Mount *Casius* was itself δινωδης τις λοφος ακρωτηριαζων, ανυδρος: "a [9] sharp sandy hillock, without water." The next place beyond *Ostracine* was *Rhinocolura;* and as badly circumstanced as the former. It was surrounded with a morass of sea water; so that all their wells were tainted; and bad as their water seems to have been, there was even of this great scarcity. [10] Περιεχει μεν γαρ αυτην χωρα πληρης ἁλμυριδος· εντος δε του τειχους ολιγον εστιν ὑδωρ εν φρεασι, και τουτο διεφθαρμενον, και παντελως τη γευσει πικρον. This desert, which began at *Pelusium* and the *Nile*, reached in the way to *Palestine* as far as *Gaza*, which was situated on the edge of it—αὑτη εστιν ερημος, says [11] the Apostle. And *Arrian* [12] observes of the same place; εσχατη δε ωκειτο, ὡς επ' Αιγυπτου εκ Φοινικης ιοντι, επι τη αρχη της ερημου.

But *Lakemacher* is not contented with cursorily speaking of this part of the world. He goes so far as to describe it; telling us what it was, and what it was not; as if he had been witness of its good-

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[9] *Josephus* of the march of *Titus* says; Προς τω του Κασιου Διος ιερῳ στρατοπεδευεται· τη δε υστεραια κατα την Οστρακινην. ὑτος ὁ τοπος ην ανυδρος. De Bell. Jud. lib. 4. cap. 11. *Mela* seems to think more favourably of this hill: but, I believe, without any reason. lib. 1. cap. 9.

[10] *Diodorus Siculus.* lib. 1. pag. 38.

[11] Acts. 8. v. 26.

[12] Exped. Alex. lib. 2.

ness, and had traversed it at his leisure. [13] *Ille tractus—ab ipsâ naturâ ad pecora alenda videbatur factus. Neque enim tot rivis, uti Delta, incisus erat abruptusque; sed campis continuis lateque patentibus liberè evagandi palandique gregibus faciebat copiam. Quocirca illo potissimum delectatos fuisse pastores non est magnopere mirandum.* It was a rich open country: in short, a perfect *Arcadia*. To this minute and whimsical description of a region that the author was totally unacquainted with, let me subjoin an account of the true nature of these parts; and, as far as I can judge, of the very spot that has been above treated of, with some occurrences that happened there; as they are described by a modern traveller. [14] *Baumgarten*, a *German* nobleman, set out with a *Caravan* from *Cairo* to go to *Syria*, *December* the 6th, in the year 1507. He travelled five days; when he came towards the part of *Arabia* that lay between *Damiata* and *Syria*. "On the twelfth day about "sun-rising we came to a desolate and decayed "cottage; where we stopped about two hours; "and then went on in our sandy journey towards "the sea. Not far from this cottage we saw above "ten thousand carcases of sheep, goats, asses, and "other creatures lying on the ground, rotten and

[13] Vol. 2. p. 320.

[14] *Churchill's* Collection of Travels. vol. 1. p. 457.

" half consumed: the noisom smell of which was " so unsufferable, that we were obliged to make " all the haste we could to get out of the reach of " it. The occasion of their lying there was thus. " *Admirald*, one of the *Sultan*'s chief ministers, " having been sent into *Judæa* to raise a poll-tax, " and finding it hard to get in the money, had " driven away the poor people's cattle, with a de- " sign to carry them to *Cairo*, and present them " to the *Sultan*. But as he was travelling through " that desert, where there was neither water nor " pasture, he lost them all.—After we had got " out of the reach of that stink, we came to a " certain bay." [15] *Sandys*, the father of *English*

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[15] *Baumgarten* was at *Cairo* in the time of *Tongobardin*, the last of the *Mamaluke* kings, A. D. 1507. He was admitted to that prince's presence; and saw him with his thirty-five wives, in the midst of the highest luxury and gratification, maintaining that no life could be compared with his for true substantial happiness. A few years afterwards he was defeated by *Selim* the *Turk*, and hanged before his palace. The same person traversed this desert another way, in his journey to Mount *Sinai*; and shews that it was of the same nature every where. " *Alcanice*— " two miles from *Cairo*; and stands in a sandy desert.—On the " eighth we entered the deserts.—On the ninth we marched " through a dreadful sandy desert, where nothing that was green " appeared; not so much as briars or thorns." We have the like account in *Monconysii Iter ad montem Sinæ*. 13. *April. Ad hospitium vel diversorium*. 14. *Per desertum statim a diversorio incipiens*. In like manner *Neitschuizt*, *Iter ad Montem Sinæ*.

travellers, went the same rout, and gives a similar account of it. [16] " On the east it [*Egypt*] is con-
" fined with the *Arabian* deserts—We were to be-
" gin the worst of the journey. On the 10th of
" *March* we entered the main deserts :—a barren
" and desolate country, bearing neither grass nor
" trees; save only here and there a few palms :—
" no water that is sweet; all being a mere wilder-
" ness of sand." This is the spot that *Lakemacher* terms *terra pascuosa, pecoribusque alendis cum primis idonea :* here he supposes a numerous people to have resided two centuries, where a *Caravan* could not subsist for a day. Sure this is overlooking the plainest evidence, and running counter to the most approved authorities. Yet the learned professor *Joh. Math. Hasius* subscribes this opinion; and, proceeding upon the same grounds, adds to the extravagancies largely. [17] He gives it as a

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25 *Junii. Cahiro mane iter inceptum—inde ad Suez merum salsulum.* In short, the whole space from lower *Egypt* to *Palestine* and to the *Red Sea* was at all times a desert, taken in every direction. " Toute l'Egypt est environnée de deserts et sablons." *Davity*, p. 273. *Leo Africanus* speaks to the same effect : and all antient writers agree that *Arabia* and the desert of *Arabia* commenced from the river of *Pelusium*, the extreme branch of the *Nile* eastward.

[16] *Sandys's* Travels.

[17] *Johan. Math. Hasii Mathem. Profess. Wittemberg. Regni Davidici et Solomonis descriptio. Norimberg.* 1739. In cap. 12.

reason for placing the *Israelites* in this particular situation, because they were in the vicinity of those very places about mount *Casius*, which are represented by *Plutarch* and other writers as uninhabitable. I have been pretty diffuse in my confutation of *Lakemacher's* notions; as at the same time I obviate the opinion of all those who are of the same way of thinking; there being many of that class. Even the learned bishop *Cumberland* was of this opinion.[18] "It is probable that the country "which *Moses* calls *Goshen* began hereabouts, "[near *Pelusium*] and ran southward between "the *Nile* on its west side and the *Red Sea* on "part of its east:—the fittest place to maintain "their cattle."

Mr. *Sale* has exhibited in his writings much oriental reading: and the world is certainly indebted to him on that head. Yet he has been too much led by fancy: and he very often determines a point peremptorily, that he has not sufficiently considered. He has a note upon this subject, which I will transcribe at large. "It is a wonder how the *Septua-* "*gint* came to place the land of *Goshen* in *Arabia*,

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part 2. p. 175. among other reasons given, these are principal: *Conditio regionis; fertilis enim est ob viciniam Nili, inque introitu Ægypti. In viciniâ sunt Migdol, Baalzephon, Lacus Sirbonis. Alia etiam non sine fructu videri possunt apud Lakemacherum, non sine laude citandum, in observationibus suis philologicis.*

[18] In *Sanchoniath.* p. 363 & 365.

" at least, some copies have it *Goshen* in *Arabia*, " since that was farther off from *Egypt* than the " land of *Canaan*. St. *Jerom* thinks that it was " the same as *Thebaïs* in *Ethiopia* or bordering to " it: but that was too long a journey for *Jacob*, " neither would *Joseph* have been near enough to " have seen and supplied his wants: whereas he " gives it as a reason to his brethren, in the former " chapter, for his choosing this land, that they " might be near him. But this *Goshen* was situate " between the *Red Sea* and the *Nile*, upon the " borders of *Canaan*, not far from *On* or *Hiera-* " *polis*, where his chief habitation was. It was a " fruitful spot of ground, and fit for cattle; and " therefore *Josephus* tells us that *Pharaoh* kept " his own there. It was separate from *Egypt*, " and therefore fittest for *Jacob* and his family; " which would be out of all danger of interfering " with the *Egyptians*."[19] What an inconsistent jumble is here! This writer wonders that the *Seventy* should place *Goshen* in *Arabia*; and therefore, to mend the matter, he places it in the confines of *Canaan*: whereby he shews, that he neither knew the true situation of *Egypt*, nor the extent of *Arabia*, nor the limits of the land he speaks of. He did not know that all to the east of

[19] Universal History, vol. 1. p. 457. note A.

the *Nile* was called *Arabia*. [20] Ἡ δὲ μεταξὺ τε Νείλε καὶ τε Ἀραβίε κοίλης Ἀραβία μὲν ἐστι. [21] *Ultra Pelusiacum Arabia est, ad Rubrum mare pertinens.*: and [22] Ἀραβία συναπτουσα πρὸς μὲν τὴν δύσιν Αἰγύπτῳ. He did not know that the city *Heliopolis*, which he alludes to and calls *Hierapolis*, was in *Arabia*: which city he places not far from the borders of *Canaan*; between which places, however, there was a mighty interval. For *Canaan*, as it was bounded at the time we are speaking of, had between it and *Egypt* part of *Philistim* or *Palæstina propria*. Next in order to the *Philistines* were the [23] *Amalekites*; who stretched across almost from one sea to the other, and were a very powerful nation. Between them and the city *Heliopolis* was the desert abovementioned; from the commencement of which to [24] *Heliopolis* could not be less than 150 miles. This

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[20] *Strab.* vol. 2. pag. 1155.

[21] *Plin.* Nat. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 11.

[22] *Steph. Byzant.*

[23] According to *Josephus* the *Amalekites* reached from *Pelusium* to the *Red Sea*. Antiq. Jud. lib. 6. cap. 8.

[24] There were two cities named *Heliopolis*; of which I shall have a great deal to say hereafter. One was in lower *Egypt*; and very antient, being the *On* of *Moses* and the Prophets: the other of later date, and called properly *Onium*. It was situated at some distance from the former, and in *Arabia*. This is a circumstance, that has escaped the notice not only of all the moderns, but of most of the antients.

space is by the writer overlooked, and the country annihilated: so that the confines of *Canaan* are brought within the verge of upper *Egypt*. After having determined the situation of this *Goshen* between the *Red Sea* and the *Nile* upon the borders of *Canaan*, not far from *Hierapolis*, where it seems *Joseph* lived, he concludes; "it was a fruitful spot, "and separate from *Egypt*; and therefore fittest "for *Jacob*." In this wide field it is difficult to know the part he alludes to. But in respect to the spot, wherever it was, being fruitful, it is a groundless supposition. I have shewn from many authorities, that it was a barren wild: and as to the land of *Goshen* being separate from *Egypt*, it is quite contradictory to the *Mosaic* account. The sacred historian assures us that it was part of the land of *Egypt*. [25] The *Israelites* were to eat by *Pharaoh's* appointment the fat of the land: the good of all the land of *Egypt* was theirs. [26] "The land of *Egypt* "is before thee;" said the prince of the country; "in the best of the land make thy father and bre- "thren to dwell.—And *Joseph* placed his father "and his brethren, and gave them a possession in "the land of *Egypt*, in the best of the land, in the "land of *Rameses*, as *Pharaoh* had commanded.— "And *Israel* dwelt in the land of *Egypt* in the

[25] *Gen.* 45. v. 18. 20.
[26] *Gen.* 47. v. 6. 11. 27.

" country of *Goshen.*" This sure is very explicit and plain. But what evidence is sufficient against the perverseness of human wit, that will so very industriously deviate from the truth? which would persuade us, that " the best of the land of *Egypt*" was not the best, nor in *Egypt;* and that the *Israelites* were placed in a desert.

The learned editor of [27] *Benjamin Tudelensis* proceeds upon the same principles as Mr. *Sale;* and thinks it is plain from scripture, that *Goshen* was only in the confines of *Egypt* towards the land of *Canaan. Sed ubi fuerit* [*terra Goshen*] *distinctè non docetur: nisi quod historia Exodi in Ægypti confinio versus terram Canaan eam collocat. At Benjamin inter Kairum et Alexandriam eandem recenset: ita sæpe aberrat.—Ideo magis confirmor, ut locum in orientaliori Ægypti regione situm designari credam: nimirum Goshen esse diœcesin circa Heliopolin, sive civitatem Solis; adeoque Rameses ipsam esse Heliopolin.* Here is the same uncertainty and confusion that we had above. *Goshen* is placed in the confines of *Egypt* towards *Canaan;* and at the same time is in the province, of which *Heliopolis* was the capital, that is a mediterranean nome of lower *Egypt.* Mr. *Sale*'s account is so similar to this, that he undoubtedly bor-

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[27] *Itinerarium D. Benjaminis cum versione et notis Constantini L' Empereur.* Lugd. Bat. Elz. 1633. pag. 223.

rowed his notions from hence: which he seems to have adopted at first sight, without the least trial or examination.

Our very learned countryman *Marsham* had too much discernment to make *Goshen* an *Arabian* province. He places it in *Egypt;* but in the lower parts, the nearest to *Arabia* and *Syria:* and for this reason, because *Joseph* met his father at *Goshen,* when he was coming from *Canaan.* [28] *Josephus patri advenienti è Canaan occurrit ad Ghosen.* This is not fairly expressed: indeed, it is quite contrary to the *Mosaic* account. The Scripture does not say that he met his father, as he was coming; that is, as he seems to imply, *ex adverso:* [29] but the contrary. It acquaints us, that the pa-

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[28] *Verùm ubi terrarum fuit Ghosen? certè in inferiore Ægypto; et habitatio Israelitarum Syriæ et Arabiæ finitima. Josephus patri advenienti è Canaan occurrit ad Ghosen. Cùm ex Ægypto tandem discederent Israelitæ, primum iter illinc fuit in Succoth, id est tentoria, sive Arabiæ desertum. Marshami Canon Chronicus,* p. 90. edit. Lips.

[29] This is one of the inferences that I before complained of, made contrary to the evidence appealed to. Many have fallen into the same mistake, by not attending to the plain and obvious account, as it is given us by the sacred writer. This error occurs in *Zonaras.* Ηδη δε της Αιγυπτυ πλησιον οντι αυτῳ [Ιακωϐ] προσυπαντα Ιωσηφ. Vol. 1. p. 31. and in *Philo Judæus.* Ὁ δ' υἱος ακουσας (σκοποι γαρ και φραστηρες της ὁδυ παντ' εδηλυν) υ μακραν των ὁριων απεχοντι δια ταχεων απηντα τῳ πατρι· και κατα την καλυμενην Ἡρωων πολιν εντυχοντες, ἐπιπιπτουσιν αλληλοις. *Liber de Joseph.*

triarch had a place of residence allotted him in the land of *Egypt:* that, when he was going to that place, he sent one of his sons to *Joseph*, to desire that he would meet him there upon his arrival. [30] "And he sent *Judah* before him unto *Joseph*, to "direct his face unto *Goshen;* and they came into "the land of *Goshen.* And *Joseph* made ready "his chariot, and went up to meet *Israel* his fa- "ther, to *Goshen;* and presented himself unto "him." His father seems to have been arrived before *Joseph* set out: so that I do not see how any inference can be made from hence, that *Goshen* was in the lower and anterior parts of *Egypt.* Two bodies may meet at a very acute angle, as well as in a direct line. Had the place of destination been *Thebes* or *Elephantis*, *Jacob* might very consistently have made the same request for his son to have met him there. But *Marsham* adds farther to confirm this notion, that the *Israelites* at their departure came first to *Succoth*, which means *booths*, that is, *Arabia deserta.* They certainly did make this their first stage: but how will this prove that they were placed in the lower parts, the nearest to *Syria?* "because the first step they took, they "were in *Arabia.*" This circumstance was common to all places situated either to the east of the river, as many were in upper *Egypt;* or close

[30] *Gen.* 46. v. 28, 29.

upon the western side of it, as many were in the lower or *Delta:* especially such as lay near the *Pelusiac* branch. The first were actually in *Arabia:* and the others could not pass the river, but they were in it likewise. The stream that they lived upon was the great barrier of lower *Egypt;* the very limit that separated them from *Arabia.* Beyond it was the wilderness: [31] απο Πηλουσιου μεχρις Ηλιουπολεως. Why then does this excellent writer introduce as particular, what was so general? and speak of a circumstance as peculiar to the lower parts of the country, which was common to all that lay in the same direction, for some hundreds of miles? Why would he speak so hastily and prematurely? and not weigh well, and consider the rich treasure of learning he was fraught with? A little diligence and a nearer inspection, would more successfully have determined his judgment. Nothing can bring a greater scandal on human reason than the abuse of it in sacred inquiries. As the holy Scriptures are so very precise and exact; and, when collated and compared, so wonderfully explain themselves, and discover so many interesting truths; how injurious is it to treat them so superficially! If we would but be at the trouble to look into the scope and meaning of the authorities we

[31] *Diodorus Siculus,* lib. 1. p. 36.

have recourse to; no writings in the world would so amply reward our pains.

The learning and penetration of Mr. *Bayle* are greatly celebrated. He has some observations upon this subject in his account of the city *Pithom:* where his own mistakes, and those that he adopts, are remarkable. He supposes the land of *Goshen* to be in the lower *Egypt*, towards the bottom: that *Abaris*, *Pithom*, *Sethron*, *Typhon* and *Pelusium* were one and the same place: yet gives no reason for this his opinion; but seems to copy *Marsham* implicitly. I shall have occasion to speak at large of *Abaris* and *Pithom* hereafter; which were distinct cities, and far enough removed from *Pelusium.* There were cities in *Egypt* called [32]*Typhonian;* but I do not recollect any of the name of *Typhon.* And as for *Sethron* being the same as *Pelusium*, it is a gross mistake. *Sethron* was the capital of the *Sethroïtic* nome, to which it gave name. It was called [33] *Heracleopolis parva*, and lay midway between *Tanis* and *Pelusium.* This is as manifest as any circumstance in history; and may be proved from the *Itinerary*, and by the

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[32] One *Typhonian* city was very high in superior *Egypt:* ειτα Τυφωνεια καλεμενα, και ὑ ις Κοπτον διωρυξ. *Strabo.* vol. 2. pag. 1169.

[33] Σιθροϊτης νομος, και μητροπολις Ἡρακλιοπολις μικρα. *Ptol. Geogr.*

march of *Titus* from [34]*Alexandria* to *Syria*. It is too well certified to need any formal discussion.

I must mention another very respectable and learned writer; and that is [35]*Perizonius*. He places *Goshen* at *Zoan*, or the fields of *Zoan*; which, he says, was *Tanis*, where was the residence of *Pharaoh*. I shall pass over many exceptionable positions and unwarrantable demands; and only observe, that, if *Tanis* was the abode of *Pharaoh*, it is little probable that *Goshen* was in the fields of that capital. *Goshen* was a province itself; and is all along distinguished by *Moses*, not only from the district where *Pharaoh* dwelt, but from all the provinces in *Egypt*. [36]In the plague of flies all *Egypt* suffered: but the land of *Goshen* was severed, and not subject to the calamity. All *Egypt* was hurt by the hail: "only in the land of *Goshen*, "where the children of *Israel* were, was there no "hail." The *Egyptians* were in palpable darkness; "but all the children of *Israel* had light in "their dwellings." The intention of *Joseph*, from the first arrival of his brethren in *Egypt*, was to fix them in a situation, where they might live recluse

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[34] *Josephus de Bell. Jud.* lib. 4. cap. 11.

[35] *Jac. Perizonii Ægyptiarum Originum et Temp. antiquissimorum investigatio.* vol. 1. p. 351. Lugd. Bat. 1711.

[36] *Exod.* 8. v. 22.—9. v. 26.—10. v. 23. *Gen.* 47. v. 11.—47. v. 27.

and separated from the rest of the world. Could this end be answered, if they lived in the precincts of a metropolis? No province could be more particularized and distinguished: not *Moph*, not *Thebes*, not *Tahpanhes*: for the sacred writer describes it both in general and in particular; that it cannot be mistaken:—" And *Israel* dwelt in the " land of *Egypt*, in the country of *Goshen*." In short, the whole history of the place shews that it was a detached district, where the *Israelites* dwelt unmixed with the people of the land; till they were forced into their cruel service, and subjected to their tyranny. And even then the place remained to them still distinct and separate: indeed, it had been given to them for a possession; nor did they ever intirely quit it, till they left the country. The principal evidence that *Perizonius* applies to is this, that [37] God is said to have done, " marvellous " things in the sight of their fathers, in the land of " *Egypt*, in the field of *Zoan*." And again; " They remembered not his hand—how he had " wrought his signs in *Egypt*, and his wonders in " the field of *Zoan*." These are slight grounds to proceed upon in determining the habitation of the *Israelites*, whether it was at *Tanis*, or elsewhere: yet *Perizonius* from this evidence is led to determine it; and he gives this for a reason. *Pars ergo*

[37] *Psalm.* 78. v. 12. 42, 43.

Ægypti, quam inhabitârunt Israelitæ, fuit campus Taneos: *siquidem istic* in eorum conspectu *miracula a Deo sunt edita.* I am sensible that *Jerome, Theodoret, Isidorus,* and many others suppose *Zoan* to have been *Tanis:* but I know no other reason for it, but what *Bochart* has comprized in a short compass—*Ex Tzoan vel Tzaan factum est Tanis, sedes Aulæ regiæ.* There is nothing alledged in favour of this notion; no history nor tradition: but merely a similitude in the two names; upon which supposed resemblance the identity of the two places is presumed. This is a compendious way of proceeding; but at the same time very fallacious and ill-grounded. As to what *Perizonius* urges—*siquidem istic in eorum conspectu miracula a Deo sunt edita;* it is so far from being true that God displayed his wonders *(istic)* in the place of their habitation, that it was of all the regions of *Egypt* what partook of them the least: so that any inference drawn from this circumstance is groundless. The purport of what is said by the Psalmist amounts to this: that it had pleased God to display many miracles in the sight of the *Israelites;* which were exhibited all over *Egypt,* and particularly in the fields of *Zoan.* The children of *Israel* might have been witnesses of these wonders without having their place of abode within the precincts of the capital; or at all in its vicinity. The works, that they were engaged in, caused them to be dissipated many different ways;

as we may learn from *Moses*: [38] "So the people "were scattered abroad throughout all the land of "*Egypt*." What wonders could there be any where displayed, but what some of them must have been witnesses to? Why then need the people be determined to any one spot to view occurrences, that were to be seen every where? Especially as this was the spot, where they did not immediately happen; and some of them could not well come under their cognizance in that situation. *Goshen* only excepted, the plagues were universal. Yet this learned writer seems to forget himself; and to ascribe the exhibition of them particularly to that place, where they were not exhibited. The field of *Zoan* might have been a large portion of *Egypt*; possibly the upper part of *Delta*, [39] called by *Herodotus* πεδιον Αιγυπτου; and *Goshen* might be a province included in it: of which I may hereafter treat; but it does not necessarily follow from the above, that it was so. Setting therefore this aside; and allowing *Perizonius* what he demands, that *Zoan* was *Tanis*, the place of residence of *Pharaoh*, and that in these parts were displayed many great

[38] *Exod.* 5. v. 12.

[39] It was called πεδιον Αιγυπτου in contradistinction to the country above: for that was bounded with mountains on each side, and had inequalities; but the lower was ὑπτια, supine and flat, and properly termed a field or plain.

occurrences; yet no inference can from hence be made in favour of his argument. How very unreasonable it would be to insist, because many marvellous works were exhibited at *Tanis* in common with the rest of *Egypt;* therefore *Goshen,* where they were not exhibited, was an appendage to *Tanis!*

Besides what I have here alledged, *Perizonius* is very faulty in his disposition of places in *Egypt;* as will appear from what follows. [40] *Pars ergo Ægypti, quam inhabitârunt Israelitæ, fuit* campus Taneos—*Potissimum autem* Terra Gosen *in S. Scripturâ vocatur ea, in quâ consederunt Israelitæ. Hæc autem fuit versus Arabiam, aut in nomo Arabiæ, qui est in finibus Ægypti apud fluvium Bubastum; siquidem Græci interpretes, qui in Ægypto verterunt S. Scripturam, terram Gosen Arabiæ ascribunt,* Genes. XLV. 10. *et* XLVI. 34. —*Istic autem erat etiam urbs Sethron, unde* Sethroites nomos, *Arabiæ nomo proximus.—Sed et dicuntur illi* Memphim occupâsse *apud Josephum et Africanum, quousque etiam, sed ab alterâ, h. e. orientali, parte Nili, se extendisse ab Sethroïte et Tanitico nomo videtur tunc terra Gosen.* We are here told that *Goshen* was in *Campo Taneos,* in the province of *Tanis;* yet at the same time it is said to be situated towards *Arabia,* or in the nome of

[40] *Perizonii* Ægypt. Orig. Investigatio. p. 350.

Arabia, in the borders of *Egypt*, and upon the river *Bubastus:* which is impossible. Moreover, if *Goshen* was a district in the nome of *Tanis*, whatever is said above of *Goshen* is applicable to *Tanis*. In consequence of which, *Tanis* likewise must have been towards *Arabia*, or in the nome of *Arabia*, in the borders of *Egypt*, upon the river *Bubastus*. But, if there be any thing certain in geography, *Tanis* was a city and province in the lower part of *Delta*, near the sea, upon a river of its own name; forty-four miles distant from *Pelusium* and *Arabia;* and still much farther from the nome of *Arabia*, which was at the top of lower *Egypt:* and next to *Tanis* was *Sethron* in the like situation. From so many incoherent circumstances being clustered together by *Perizonius*, it is plain, that he did not know the true situation of any one place he mentions.

Having for a time cooped up the *Israelites* in a subordinate district, he makes them at last extend themselves from *Tanis* to *Memphis*, and to occupy part of *Arabia* to the east of the *Nile;* in order to comprehend this fairy land, if it be at all attainable. But this is a circumstance quite incredible: nor is there the least reason to think, that they were possessed of such a tract of country; most of which I have shewn was not habitable. Besides, it does not remedy the evil. The land of *Goshen* was fixed and permanent: that did not travel with them: and, whatever provinces they

might occupy afterwards, this must have remained distinct: nor could their change of place alter it. The same nation that settled in *Franconia* got possession of *Gaul* to the *Pyrenees* and the Ocean: but nobody places *Franconia* in *Gascony* or *Thoulouse*. In short, the mistakes of *Perizonius* are almost too flagrant to need a regular confutation. His reasoning is as unfair, as the grounds he proceeds upon are untrue: both unworthy of him.

Cellarius[41] has touched upon this head. In his map of *Egypt* he places *Goshen* in the neighbourhood of the city *On* or *Heliopolis*, to the east of the *Nile*: and, together with these, he has transposed other provinces and cities in a much too lawless and unwarrantable manner. His learning is copious; and the authorities that he appeals to many, but not always sufficiently digested. His work, which is a very laudable one, and of great utility, was too extensive to give him time to be thoroughly accurate. Though he differs from others in the situation, which he gives to these places; yet, as he goes so far as to place them in *Arabia*, all that he says upon the subject, has been answered already.

It is remarkable of the persons who contributed to the *Greek* version of the Bible, that (where it is

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[41] *Cellarii Notitia Orbis Antiqui*. 2 vol. Amstel. 1706. vol. 2. p. 34.

said in the original that *Joseph* [42] "went up to meet "*Israel* his father to *Goshen*") they translate it κατ' Ηρωων πολιν, the city *Heroum* or *Heroopolis*. In other [43] places they term it γη Γεσεμ Αραβιας. Now *Heroopolis*, at least the only city we know of that name, was upon the north west point of the *Red Sea*; as we learn from [44] *Ptolemy* and [45] *Strabo*. This situation for *Goshen* is more extravagant than any that has been yet thought of: it cannot be supposed that the best of the land of *Egypt* was here. The few towns upon the upper part of the *Red Sea* were solitary seaports, that stood upon the verge of a barren wilderness; and were not of *Egyptian* original. We are told by *Strabo*, that the kings of *Egypt* for a long time were averse to trade, particularly by sea, and discouraged navigation. They were satisfied with the produce of their own fertile soil; and needed not any foreign importations: which circumstance made them ill affected to sailors and shipping, and little solicitous about seaports and harbours; especially beyond the limits of their own country. [46] Οι μεν ουν πρωτεροι των Αιγυπτιων βασιλεις

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[42] *Genes.* 46. v. 29.

[43] *Genes.* 46. v. 34.—45. v. 10.

[44] Geogr. Edit. Bertii. p. 103.

[45] Vol. 2. p. 1158. Η των Ηρωων εστι πολις και η Κλεοπατρις, εν τω μυχω του Αραβιου κολπου του προς Αιγυπτον. pag. 1193. κατ' Ηρωων πολιν την εν τω μυχω του Αραβιου κολπου.

[46] Vol. 2 p. 1142.

αγαπωντες οις ειχον, και ε παυ επεισακτων δεομενοι, διαβεβλημενοι προς απαντας τυς πλεοντας κ. τ. λ. [47] *Diodorus Siculus* says the same. The histories of *Egypt* are continually describing the care and cost of their first kings, in fortifying the country to the east, and securing it from foreign attacks. They made the river of *Pelusium* the boundary of their kingdom; and never thought of founding [48] seaports on the *Red Sea*. *Heroopolis*, and the few towns near it were separated from *Egypt* at the distance of four days journey; and were occupied by the *Arabians*, and by the sons of *Ishmael* and *Edom* for ages. The latter, in the time of *Jehoshaphat*, seem to have been sole masters of the gulf of *Elah*. As soon as this king had subdued them; he took possession of their ports, and built a fleet, and projected a scheme of trade. It was the first attempt of any prince of that house since the days of *Solomon;* and soon

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[47] Καθολυ δι πρωτος [Ψαμμιτιχος] των κατ' Αιγυπτον βασιλεων αιωξε τοις αλλοις εθνεσι τα κατα την αλλην χωραν εμπορια, και πολλην ασφαλειαν τοις καταπλεουσι ξενοις παρειχετο. lib. 1. pag. 43.

[48] The priests of *Egypt* esteemed it an abomination for a person to quit his native country: for which reason they never left it; thinking it inexcusable in any persons, excepting those, who were obliged to go abroad for the service of the crown by the king's appointment. This we learn from *Chæremo* the *Stoic* in his account of the *Egyptian* priests, οι γε εν τοις αστειοτατοις ετιθεντο πλειν απ' Αιγυπτυ διειλαβυμενοι ξενικας τρυφας και επιτηδευματα. Μονοις γαρ οσιον εδοκει τοις κατα τας βασιλικας χρειας απηναγκασμενοις. *Porph. de Abstin.* lib. 4.

proved abortive. The other and nearer gulf was possessed by the *Arabians.* The face of the country may be supposed to have been much the same at all times. What it is now, may be learned from a modern [49] traveller, who passed from *Suez*, the most northern part of the *Red Sea*, to *Cairo. Ex hoc loco pergentes venimus in campum Choas dictum— mediâ ibi nocte exactâ recessimus, iter laboriosum per latissimos et prorsus steriles campos totâ die illâ conficientes; ubi nec virens aliquid vidimus, nec aquam reperimus, neque tentoria figere poteramus: eò quod tenuissima arena, quæ illic est copiosa, funium claves tenere non posset.* Agreeable to this is what [50] *Egmont* and *Heyman* tell us, that about

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[49] *Bernardi de Bredenback sanctæ peregrinationes in montem Sion et montem Sinai anno* 1483 *confectæ. Impress. Spiræ.* 1490.

[50] *Egmont* and *Heyman*'s Travels. vol. 2. p. 148. and 188. See also *Viaggi fatti nel Egitto opera del Signor Gabrielle Bremond. In Roma*, 1679. lib. 1. "Indi tirando fra levante e mezzo giorno "senza fermarsi al Birco, o stagno d' acqua fontano dal *Cairo* 4 "hore di camino, entrammo nel deserto, dove si travano cam- "pagni sterili, non di rena, ma di terra secca, che per esser priva "d' acqua non produce ne anche un filo d' erba eccetto verso il "mare. Facemmo tre giornate per questi diserti, riposando la "sera sotto padiglioni che portavamo, et accommodando il viver "nostro all' uso Arabo, ne si reposava se non a 21 hore per risto- "rarci. La sera del terzo giorno havendo scoperte alcune pic- "ciole montagne, bisogno caminar sino alle tre hore di notte, per "arrivar ad un picciol castello, sotto il quale ci firmammo: si "noma *Agirild:* et e fabricato di fresco per guardia d' un pozzo

the *Red Sea* they saw neither shrub, nor tree, nor vegetable, except a kind of bramble. But the account they give, as they were advancing towards it, will afford a truer idea of the country. "The next "morning (the fourth from *Cairo*) we set out as "usual, and during the whole day saw only two "trees; but on our right hand was the sepulchre of "a kaijia or governor of *Suez*, who lost his life here "in defending the caravan against a body of *Ara-*"*bian* robbers. We also saw, in the road, several "skeletons of camels, which had sunk under their "burdens, and expired in these thirsty deserts. But "what appeared much more shocking to us, was a "human arm appearing above the sand: this person "had been here overtaken with a whirlwind, and "was suffocated with the dust."—Let any body judge if in these parts could be situated the best of the land of *Egypt*.

To conclude; the Scriptures, as I have observed, inform us that the place of sojournment allotted to the children of *Israel* was in *Egypt*: [51] "And *Jo-*

"d'acqua amara, et per rendre piu che si puo sicuro il camino "alle *caravane* della *Meka*, che passan per di la. E assai mal "guardato non vi essendo, per mancamento di paga, e viveri che "poche Soldati in questo deserto, dove observai che la rugiada "intessa sia salata." I quote this passage, because some have thought that the castle here mentioned was the antient *Heropolis*.

[51] *Genes.* 50. v. 22.

"*seph* dwelt in *Egypt*, he and his father's house." The first thing for these learned men to have inquired into should have been what was *Egypt*. This many of them took but little pains to be certified of: and the errors above mentioned are in consequence of this failure.

Thus have I given an account of the miscarriages of some eminent writers out of many, who have been engaged in this subject. In prosecuting which, I have not exhibited the whole series of their mistakes: but have thought it sufficient, if I could shew that they were fundamentally in the wrong. Many of these writers were undoubtedly men of consummate parts and learning: great artists, who laid in excellent store of materials for their purpose; as may be seen from what they produce upon the occasion. It was through a misapplication of these materials, that they failed in the execution. Instead of setting out upon something well known and warranted; the first postulatum they make is matter of guess and surmise. This is ascertained by other conjectures; till the evidence does not amount to the lowest degree of probability: nay, their allegations are found repugnant both to history and reason; and are many times absolutely ridiculous. What can be more strange than [52] Dr. *Shaw*'s method

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[52] Travels or observations relating to several parts of *Barbary* and the *Levant* by *Tho. Shaw*. D. D. *Oxford*. 1738.

of investigation? who determines the land of *Goshen* by the place of residence of *Pharaoh*; and *Pharaoh*'s residence by the flight of [53] grass-hoppers.

In these inquiries we ought ever to have before our eyes the example of a skilful *Chemist*. A good operator, when he has carefully collected his ingredients, produces from them some highly rectified and ethereal spirit; some sovereign and salutary essence, that is as grateful as it is beneficial. But the giddy *Empiric* suffers the volatile part to escape; and preserves nothing but a dull insipid phlegm; mere dregs and lees, that afford neither pleasure nor profit.

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[53] It was a west wind that took away the locusts from *Egypt*. For which reason Dr. *Shaw* supposes the abode of *Pharaoh* to have been at *Memphis*, rather than at *Tanis*; as *Memphis* lay more to the west of the *Red Sea*, whither they were carried. Now the *Hebrews* seem to have acknowledged but four winds: "And upon "*Elam* will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of "heaven." *Jeremiah* 49. 36. So that the west wind is to be considered under a great latitude. Besides, as all *Egypt* lay more or less west of this sea, and the greatest part due west; this argument would become too universal; and would afford many places an equal claim. But the whole is too vague to prove any thing. The plague of locusts was not at the place of royal residence only, but every where: at *Tanis* as well as *Memphis*. The removing the king's seat would not remove the difficulty, if there were any: nor can any thing by this means be determined. And after all, the words *Ruah yam* signify only a sea wind, a wind from the *Mediterranean*, as a learned writer has well observed,

OF

THE CAUSES

WHENCE

MANY ERRORS HAVE ARISEN

IN

INQUIRIES MADE INTO ANTIENT HISTORY.

MANY mistakes happen in geographical inquiries from the use of little despicable maps, of a contracted scale: by which means a writer is more easily induced to pursue his own visionary schemes; transposing and accommodating every object, as his particular fancy leads him. For the chart he makes use of being mean and scanty, his mistakes are not so palpable; and the violence he is guilty of not so glaring. Were the countries he treats of, fairly and amply defined; the changes and transpositions, which he so arbitrarily deals in, would appear gross to his own eye: and he would be shocked with the wantonness of his imagination.

I have shewn that many of the learned authors I have spoken of were very rich in knowledge; and had noble resources to apply to. But they were too hasty; too soon satisfied; and, like many others, set out originally upon a system, to which every thing was to be reduced. They did not take time to sift, and to compare the evidences that they had collected: and, without diligent canvassing and comparing in these dark inquiries, the truth can never be obtained. The historians which they appeal to, are neither precise nor accurate; so that singly they are often unintelligible. There is therefore no certain way of proceeding, but to take their evidence collectively; and make them correct and explain one another.

But the chief cause of this uncertainty in profane history, and the many errors in consequence of it, has arisen from the false delicacy of the *Grecian* writers; through whose hands these histories have been transmitted to us. Their ears were so unnecessarily nice, that they could not endure to represent things in their native dress: but changed the names both of men and countries; in order to accommodate them to their own idiom and pronunciation. Nor were they content with bare inflexions of words and terminations, but were guilty of a puerile levity, in catching at every similitude of sound; and thinking that the etymology of every name which they met with was to be found in the *Greek*: at least their language was a canon, by which all others

were to be modelled. This was the standard, to which every thing was brought; and if they met with any names that would not abide the trial, they deemed them barbarous, and entirely omitted them. *Strabo* fairly confesses that this was his way of proceeding. [1] Ου λεγω δε των εθνων τα ονοματα τα παλαια, δια την αδοξιαν και αμα ατοπιαν της εκφορας αυτων. The antient historian *Cephalæon* says the same. [2] Εμοι δε η γραφη τι τερπνον, η τι χαριεν εμελλεν εξειν ονομακλησην ανευ πραξιων βαρβαρων φωνεντι τυραννες, δειλης και μαλακης βαρβαρης; On this account [3] *Josephus* was afraid to mention the names of the persons who composed the family of his great ancestor *Jacob*; lest they should prove uncouth to the nice ears of his readers: Τα μεν ουν ονοματα δηλωσαι τουτων ουκ εδοκιμαζον, και μαλιστα δια την δυσκολιαν αυτων. But having made some apology, and smoothed and polished them, he at last ventures to produce them. Sometimes they only translated the names of places; which was something tolerable; for there was then a chance of re-

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[1] *Strab.* vol. 2. p. 1123.

[2] Εκ των Κεφαλαιωνος apud Euseb. Chron. Can. Edit. Scal. p. 30.

[3] Ant. Jud. lib. 2. cap. 7. *Plato* informs us, that *Solon* who wrote concerning *Egypt*, would not admit the names of men or places into his poems, without a thorough alteration. *Plato* in *Critia*. This, I suppose, was effected two ways; either by changing the names to words the nearest in sound; or translating them to such as were of the same meaning.

curring to the primitive language, and recovering the original; as the meaning would lead one to the truth. But they were too vain to be consistent even in this: and what one advanced, another confounded; each thinking that he had a right to change things, and new model them to his taste. Above all things they strove to introduce their own gods and heroes; and to attribute every thing to their performance, wheresoever transacted. Their vanity was so great in this respect, and their prejudices so strong, that it led them into a thousand childish errors: but, where they were not originally mistaken, they willfully deviated; imposing names on places, and adding legendary stories, which they must know were foreign to the countries where they introduce them. Hence we are informed that one branch of the *Nile* was denominated from a sailor of [4] *Menelaus*, and another from *Peleus* of *Thessaly*: that *Perseus* gave name to *Persia*; and that the *Medes* received their name from *Medea*; and what happened upon the occasion. For they were never guilty of a mistake, but they framed some story to support it; hence *Scaliger*'s sarcasm; *Græculorum est mentiri; et falsa venis affingere.* *Pliny* too is very severe upon them on this head. He had often experienced their vanity and affectation, and had de-

[4] *Ammian. Marcellinus; Steph. Byzantinus* &c. *passim Euseb.* Canon. Isagog. lib. 3

tected their idle notions: on which account he passes a bitter but just censure; [5] *Mirum est quo procedat Græca credulitas! nullum tam impudens mendacium est, ut teste careat.* [6] *Cicero* speaks to the same purpose: *Tribuo illis literas, do multarum artium disciplinam:—testimoniorum religionem et fidem nunquam ista natio coluit.* I know no writer of more eminence than *Plutarch.* He was a man of great depth in philosophy, and every species of learning; and has left behind a collection of most valuable tracts. Yet, maugre his sense and abilities, he is most shamefully trifling in the etymology of words; and, like the rest of his fraternity, is for bringing every thing within the narrow circle of his own little district. He was thoroughly acquainted with the high antiquity of *Egypt:* yet tells us that the goddess *Isis* was called so from the word ἰσια; that the *Egyptian Anubis* was derived from the *Greek* word ανω; the antient god *Orus* from ὁραω; and that *Osiris* was *quasi* ὁσιος. This prurulence of wit was contagious: none of the *Greeks* could escape it. The liberties they took, in the etymologies of words, as well as in the inflexions, was animadverted upon by *Josephus,* as *Bochart* takes notice. [7] *Ut*

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[5] *Plin.* Nat. Hist. lib. 8. cap. 22. Των δε της αληθειας ἱστορων Ἑλληνες α μαρτηλαι. *Theoph.* ad Autol. lib. 3.

[6] Orat. pro Flacco. Sect. 4.

[7] Geogr. Sacr. pars prior. lib. 2. cap. 19.

Josephus rectè observat, Græcis scriptoribus id in more est, ut peregrina et barbara nomina, quantum licet, ad Græcam formam emolliant.—Sic illis Ar Moabitarum est Αρεοπολις; *Botsra,* Βυρσα; *Akis,* Αγχης; *Astarte,* Ασροαρχη; *torrens Kison,* χειμαρρος των Κισσων; *torrens Kedron,* [8] χειμαρρος των Κεδρων, *et talia* ωσει κονις. *Bochart* indeed speaks only of their softening and accommodating the terms: but, in reality, both the mode and essence of the words is changed; so that there remains nothing but a shadow for the substance. And *Josephus* shews a proper indignation in another place at their vanity; calling them to account for their high pretensions; and accusing them of having sophisticated and ruined the best of antient history. [9] Πως αν εκ αλογον τετυφωσθαι τους Ἑλληνας, ὡς μονους επισαμενους τα αρχαια, και την αληθειαν περι αυτων ακριβως παραδιδοντας; η τις εκ τουτων συγγραφιων μαθοι ραδιως, ὁτι μηδεν βεβαιως ειδοτες συνεγραφον, αλλ' ὡς εκαστοι περι των πραγματων εικαζοιντο; πλειον γαρ δια των βιβλιων αλληλες ελεγχουσι, και τα εναντιωτατα περι των αυτων λεγειν εκ οκνουσι.

Great part of the knowledge that we are pos-

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[8] Περαν του χειμαρρου των Κιδρων. *Etsi in omnibus libris est hæc lectio, quam et Nonnus agnoscit, tamen videtur D. Hieronymus in locis Hebraïcis, ubi de Cedron agit et hunc locum citat, veram lectionem agnoscere, quæ est* του Κιδρων. *Is. Casaub. notæ in Joan.* 18. v. 1.

[9] *Contra Apion.* lib. 1. cap. 3.

sessed of, in relation to antient times, has been transmitted to us through the hands of the *Grecians:* for which we are to make proper acknowledgments. But when we consider how much more they might have transmitted, and how foul and turbid the streams are, that are derived to us; it takes off much from the obligation. In short, there is no medium to be held with this wonderful people. One while we gaze with astonishment at their extensive parts, their exquisite taste, and the unparalleled beauty of their compositions: at other times we cannot help looking down with pity and indignation, to see all these leavened and ruined by a puerility and vanity, that the *Goths* were strangers to. Of this unhappy turn in the best writers in *Greece,* and of the fatal consequences in regard to historical truth, I shall often have occasion to speak in the course of the following treatise.

A

SHORT ACCOUNT

OF THE

GEOGRAPHY OF EGYPT.

THE great misfortune that I have been lamenting in the writings of the preceding learned men, has been their fondness for hypothesis; by which they have been too easily and too frequently seduced: this too at a time, when their learning gave them great advantages: and had they set out at first upon good principles, it must necessarily have led them to the discoveries they were aiming at. That I may not fall into the same mistakes that I have been complaining of in others, I will give a short account of the history and geography of *Egypt;* at least of those parts with which I shall be principally concerned, as far as I can collect it from the best authorities. This being fairly stated will afford me good grounds to proceed upon in my subsequent inquiries: that I may not mould and fashion the country to favour my own particular notions and

prejudices; but make my system accord to the history and nature of the country.

I have mentioned that all to the east of lower *Egypt* was a desert: no provinces nor cities were there. I have proved it from the best accounts that I could obtain; and it will now be my business to give the true situation of these places, that have been so mistaken and transposed. It cannot be expected, that the form and limits of the *Egyptian* provinces are exactly the same at this day, that they were in times past. A land that has been annually overflowed, must in many places have suffered a change, during an interval of so many ages. Many of the antient canals have in process of time been choked up, and new ones formed; which has caused some variation: yet the external shape of the country, and original outlines, are nearly the same now that they were of old.

As *Egypt* was one of the most antient, so was it one of the most extensive kingdoms, that for many ages subsisted in the world. Those of *Assyria* and *Babylonia* were for a long time confined within narrow limits, if compared with what they were afterwards. But *Egypt* seems to have been respectable from the beginning; and the most early accounts, that we can arrive at, bear witness of its eminence and power. It is true, the first inhabitants seem to have settled in the upper parts, near the *Thebaïs*: but they soon got possession of the whole. And though they might not be all under one head; yet

they were of the same family, and constituted a mighty nation. They were esteemed a very wise and learned people; so that [1] *Moses* is said to have been "learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*." They were likewise very powerful and populous: and there are said to have been in the days of *Amasis* thirty thousand cities in *Egypt*. The fruitfulness of the country is well known by the large imposts that were laid upon it in after times. Besides the tribute of corn, they paid to the *Romans* large taxes in specie; which, according to *Cicero*, as quoted by [2] *Strabo*, amounted in the reign of *Ptolemy Auletes* to [3] 12500 talents. But nothing can give one a greater notion of their wealth, than the account of the treasure, that had been heaped up by the first *Ptolemy*, as it is described by *Appian*; who assures us that, at the death of this prince,

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[1] Acts 7. v. 22.

[2] 2,421,875*l*. See *Arbuthnot*'s Tables. p. 192.

[3] But this was esteemed trifling; for *Auletes* was a very indolent and weak prince. "If he raised so much," says *Strabo*, "what must have been the revenues of other kings? or what may "we compute the advantages made from *Egypt* to amount to at "this time, when the taxes are collected with so much exactness, "and there is the additional trade of *India* and the *Ethiopians* to "contribute?" Ὁπου ουν ὁ κακιστα και ῥαθυμοτατα την βασιλειαν διοικων τοσαυτα προσωδευετο, τι χρη νομισαι τα νυν, δια τοσαυτης επιμελειας οικονομουμενα, και των Ινδικων εμποριων και των Τρωγλοδυτικων επηυξημενων επι τοσουτον; vol. 2. pag. 1149.

there were found in his treasury [4] seventy-four myriads of talents. These circumstances, together with the costly structures which they erected, the mighty works they were engaged in, and the œconomy and establishment of their government, must raise in us a high idea of the affluence and power which this knowing people were possessed of, while they were their own masters. Such were the *Egyptians* in their better days:

Τα δε πολλα και ολβια ταυτα λελειπται—

all these happy circumstances have been a long time at an end. *Egypt*, in the midst of its prosperity, was doomed to a fatal change. It was to become [5] *a base kingdom*: and for above two thousand years it has been *the basest of kingdoms*: neither in all that vast interval of time has there been once a *prince* of that nation.

The antiquity of this kingdom may be seen by its founders *Ham* and *Mizraim*; by whose names the country was of old called, nor are they obliterated at this day. *Plutarch* tells us that the priests of *Egypt* in the mysteries of *Isis* called their country [6] *Chemia*. *Hesychius* terms it *Hermochemia*, and

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[4] 191,166,666l. 13*s*. 4*d*. See *Arbuthnot*'s Tables. p. 192.

[5] *Ezekiel*. 29. v. 14, 15.—30. v. 13.

[6] Ετι την Αιγυπτον—Χημια καλουσιν. *De Is. et Osir.* *Herodotus* says, ιστι δε Χεμμις πολις μεγαλη νομυ του Θηβαϊκυ. lib. 2. cap. 9. He

says it was the antient name: Ἑρμοχημιος γη, ἡ Αιγυπτος το πρωτερον ἐτως ἐκαλειτο. *Stephanus* gives it the name of [7] *Misore* or *Mysora;* the meaning of which is obvious. In respect to its extent; the *Greeks* describe it under three large and principal divisions, that comprehend lower *Egypt*, upper *Egypt*, and a third that was uppermost of all; which extended to *Philæ* and *Syene*. These were termed ἡ κατω, ἡ ανω,

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speaks of the people called *Chemmitæ*, ibid. of a nome of that name, ibid. and of an island called *Chemmis* near the city *Butus* in lower *Egypt*. cap. 156. All which is analogous to the land of *Ham* in the Scriptures. LXX. *Interpretes—Cham transtulerunt, pro eo quod est Ham, a quo et Ægyptus usque hodie Ægyptiorum linguâ Ham dicitur. Hieron. Quæst. in Genes.*

[7] *Zonaras.* vol. 1. p. 21. Μισριμ δε Μισραιων προπατωρ εγενετο. Ουτω δε καλωνται Αιγυπτιοι, και ἡ της Αιγυπτου χωρα Μισρην ονομαζεται. *Urbs Fostat est ipsamet Metzr, sic dicta a Mezram filio Cam, filii Noë, cui pax. Geograph. Nubiensis.* p. 97. "Aujourd'huy "les Juifs l'appellent encore Mizraim: mais les Arabes et les "Turcs luy donnent de Mitzir ou Mitzri; combien que Leon "asseure, que les Juifs l'appellent Mezraim, et les Arabes "Mezré; et les habitans l'appellent El Quiber. Les Syriens "nomment les Egyptiens Ægophtes, et les Mahometans d'Egypt "les Chrestiens du mesme pays El Hibt, et El Kupti, ou Kupti "sans article, au lieu de Gupti ou Egupti; et les Ethiopiens ap-"pellent les mesme Giptu ou Gibetu." *Davity.* p. 256. The same author says of *Cairo;* "Les Arabes l'appellent aujourd'huy "Mazar ou Mezir; les Armeniens Massar; les Chaldeens Al "Chabir, et les Hebreux Mithraim, de mesme que l'Egypte." p. 267.

and ἡ ἀνωτατη χωρα. Great mistakes have ensued from not rightly understanding the meaning of these terms: for they are always relative to the true situation of the country, and the course of the river; which descends from the higher lands to the lower, till it loses itself in the sea. *Delta* therefore, that was situated among the branches of the *Nile*, was esteemed the lowest of all. [8] Καλειται δε κοινως ἡ περι τατας τας ποταμιας χωρα κατω.

It is observable that, from the confines of *Ethiopia* downward, *Egypt* is for a long way very narrow; being bounded on each side with mountains, between which the river descends: and, according to the determination of most geographers of antiquity, it separates *Africa* from *Asia;* and more particularly *Lybia* from *Arabia.* Here was the general boundary of the two great continents. This however is greatly disapproved of by *Herodotus.* He objects to the decision of those people, who attribute part of *Egypt* to one country, and part to another. He therefore varies in some degree from this disposition; and makes *Egypt* itself the boundary between the regions that it borders upon. The country by this means is intermediate, and ascribed to neither. [9] Ου

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[8] *Ptol. Geogr.* Edit. Bertii. lib. 4.

[9] Lib. 2. cap. 17. This is the opinion of *Herodotus;* but he is not followed in it: περιεχεται δε ὁ Νειλος, περιοδον πληθυν, ου μονον το Δελτα, αλλα και τα Λιβυκα τα λεγομενα χωρια ειναι, και τα Αραβια ενιαχη.

γαρ δη ὁ Νειλος οτε εστι κατα τουτον τον λογον ὁ την Ασιην ῥιζων τῃ Λιβυῃ.—ῥισμα δε Ασιῃ και Λιβυῃ οιδαμεν ἁδεν εον ορθῳ λογῳ, ει μη της Αιγυπτιων ῥυης. Whether *Herodotus* was aware that any ill consequences would arise from the other way of proceeding, I know not; but it is certain some obscurity has ensued. As long as the river was single, it might well serve to determine the countries on each side: but, when it was branched out into many streams, it became difficult to say to which part of the world the intermediate provinces were to be assigned. Therefore some have referred them to *Lybia*, others to *Arabia*, without any just reason to determine them: which has induced many people to alter their true position; and to transfer them in their maps to those countries, imagining that such was their situation. But this, being only a matter of reference, should not have affected the real order and disposition of those states. How *Egypt* was situated and bounded, we are very clearly informed by *Leo Africanus: Ægyptus, clarissima regio, ab occidente desertis Barcæ, Libyæ, ac Numidiæ clauditur; ab oriente desertis, quæ Ægypto et Mari Rubro interjacent.* The account of *Strabo* is agreeable to the foregoing: [10] Αιγυπτος—απο μεν των αρκτων αλιμενῳ παραλια και

Herod. lib. 2. cap. 19. Αιγυπτος ὁμηρος τῃ Λιβυῃ. lib. 2. cap. 65.

[10] Vol. 2. p. 1174. Και is certainly wanting—" with deserts

πελαγει τῳ Αιγυπτιῳ φρυγμενη· απο δε της ἑω και της ἑσπερας, ερημοις (και) ορεσι, τοις τε Διβυκοις και τοις Αραβιοις, ὡσπερ εφαμεν.

The whole extent of this country from north to south was computed to be about six hundred miles: and consisted, as I before observed, of three principal divisions; and those subdivided into smaller provinces, called by the *Greeks* Νομοι, but by the natives *Tabir*. The number of them has been computed to have been thirty-six; [11] δεκα μεν ἡ Θηβαϊς, δεκα δ' ἡ εν τῳ Δελτα, ἑκκαιδεκα δ' ἡ μεταξυ. [12] *Diodorus* makes the same distribution. But of this we can have no certainty, on account of the disagreement that is found among writers upon this subject, who add and diminish too arbitrarily. *Pliny* takes notice of this inconsistency, and mentions some particulars. [13] *Quidam ex his aliqua nomina permutant, et substituunt alios nomos, ut Heroopoliten, Crocodilopoliten.* In short, wherever there was a city, the *Grecians* added a nome; [14]

" *and* with mountains." The lower parts were bounded with deserts; the upper with mountains. Without this the force and precision of the writer is lost.

[11] *Strabo.* vol. 2. p. 1135.

[12] Την δε χωραν απασαν εις ἑξ και τριακοντα μερη διελων [Σεσωσις.] lib. 1. pag. 35.

[13] Nat. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 9.

[14] *Strabo* mentions nomes that never existed. He has one near the *Red Sea* called the *Phagroriopolitan*, which was quite imaginary.

which very much confused and encumbered the geography of those parts. Hence *Epiphanius*, speaking of the word νομος, does not hesitate to define it in this manner; την περιχωρον της τυχουσης πολιος σημαινει:[15] "it was the environs of every city." At which rate, as *Egypt* is said to have once had[16] thirty thousand cities; it should follow, that there were so many nomes.

The river that waters the whole country is the *Nile;* which is single for some hundreds of miles downwards, running in one direction: or, if it be at any time separated by the interposition of an island, the streams unite again soon; and it proceeds in its usual channel. But when it arrives at the extremity of lower *Egypt*, called by the *Greeks Delta*, where stood the city *Cercasora;* it is divided into two very considerable branches, which inclose all the country below, and never unite again. They are called the *Canobic* and *Pelusiac* branches; and are the extreme of all others into which the river is divided. At the same time that this separation is made, the river still keeps on his course downward; having a sufficient supply of water to fill the *Sebennitic* channel, which forms

[15] In like manner *Cyrill. Alexandr.* tells us, that among the *Egyptians* a nome was a city, and the country about it, with the dependent villages. Νομος εκαστη πολις και αι περιοικιδες αυτης, και αι υπ' αυτη κωμαι. *In Esaiam.* cap. 19.

[16] See *Theocritus.* Idyll. 17.

one of the most considerable mouths of the *Nile*. For this we have the testimony of *Herodotus*; who in his accounts of these parts is more particular and intelligible, and far more to be depended on than any other writer. [17] Ὁ γαρ δη Νειλος αρξαμενος εκ των Καταδεκτων, ῥεει, μεσην Αιγυπτον σχιζων, ες Θαλασσαν. Μεχρι μεν νυν Κερκασωρε πολιος ῥεει εις εων ὁ Νειλος· το δε απο ταυτης της πολιος σχιζεται τριφαξιας ὁδους. Και ἡ μεν προς ηω τρεπεται, το καλεεται Πηλουσιον στομα· ἡ δε ἑτερη των ὁδων προς ἑσπερην εχει· τουτο δε Κανωβικον στομα κεκληται· ἡ δε δη ιθεα των ὁδων τῳ Νειλῳ εστι ηδε. Ανωθεν φερομενος, ες το οξυ του Δελτα απικνεεται· το δε απο τουτου, σχιζων μεσον το Δελτα ες Θαλασσαν εξιει, ουτε ελαχιστην μοιρην του ὑδατος παρεχομενος ταυτην, ουτε ἡκιστα ευδοκιμεουσαν· το καλεεται Σεβεννυτικον στομα. Agreeable to this is the description of the *Nile*, as we find it in [18] *Achilles*

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[17] Lib. 2. cap. 17.

[18] Εικε δε αυτοις ὡτω της κωμης ἡ θεσις. Ὁ Νειλος ῥει μεν ανωθεν εκ Θηβης των Αιγυπτιων, και εστιν ες τοσουτον ῥεων αχρι Μεμφεως, και εστι μικρον κατω κερας. Συρος ονομα τῃ κωμῃ προς το τελει του μεγαλου ῥευματος. Ευθυνθεν δε περιῤῥηγνυται τῃ γῃ, και εξ ενος πολαμου γιγνονται τρεις, δυο μεν εκατερωθεν λελυμενοι, ὁ δε εις και την γην εις το σχημα του Δελτα ποιων. *Achill. Tatius.* lib. 4. It wants a great deal of amendment:

Instead of και εστι μικρον κατω κερας Συρος ονομα τῃ κωμῃ,

read και ες τι μικρον κατω· Κερκασυρος ονομω τῃ κωμῃ,

and for ὁδε εις και την γην εις το σχημα του Δελτα ποιων,

read ὁδε εις κατα την γην εισιει, το σχισμα του Δελτα ποιων. The two extreme branches inclosed the land, and the centre or *Sebennytic* ran through and divided it. The latter part is an imitation of *Herodotus*.—σχιζων μεσον το Δελτα ες Θαλασσαν εξιει.

Tatius: though the passage is very much depraved. The purport of it, as it stands corrected, is this. The general *Charmidas* ordered his men to encamp at a particular place. "The situation of the vil-" lage," says the author, "was this. The river " *Nile* descends from *Thebes*;" (which for distinction's sake, he calls *Egyptian Thebes*) "and runs " single and undivided as far as *Memphis*, and for " a little way below. The place where the grand " stream of the river ends, that is, where it is first " divided into separate branches, is called *Cerca-* " *suros*. At this point it is broken; and of one " stream it forms three. Two of them run down " on each side upon the extremities of the country: " but the other, the centre stream, runs through " the land, and in its passage divides lower " *Egypt*."

As long as the *Nile* ran in a single channel, which was above four hundred miles, it was inhabited both on the *Arabian* and *Libyan* side; having all the way a ridge of mountains to the east and to the west, which were a security to the natives. A few miles below *Memphis*, just where lower *Egypt* commenced, the mountains[19] of *Arabia*

[19] *Herodotus* speaks of the whole ridge of hills in the singular number, and calls it the mountain of *Arabia*. lib. 2. cap. 8.

ceased; reaching no farther downward to the north, though eastward they extended to the *Red Sea*. The last city on this side the river was *Aphroditopolis*, the capital of a nome it gave name to. What other places occur below, such as *Latopolis*, (which was the antient *Babylon)*, together with *Scenæ Mandræ*, *Scenæ Veteranorum*, *Vicus Judæorum*, seem to have been never of any great repute, and generally deserted. And when they were occupied, it was chiefly by foreigners, who obtained leave of the princes of *Egypt* to take up their habitation within them. Some of them were only *Tabernacula*, booths for the security of cattle during the inundation of the *Nile*. However, as these parts were separated from the body of *Egypt;* the *Jews*, who during the captivity and afterwards betook themselves to this country, thought it no despicable spot to settle in. They accordingly got permission to rebuild some of the places that had been long in ruins: and the hill, that was opposite to *Babylon*, is still called *Jibel Jeheusi;* retaining their name to this day. These towns were situated nearly in a line with the uppermost point of *Delta*. *Babylon* in particular was opposite to that point, where the *Nile* first divided; and likewise opposite to the *Pyramids* on the *Libyan* side of the river. Beyond these there were no places of abode downward; excepting perhaps one called *Thou*. This may be

proved from the *Itinerary* of [20] *Antoninus.* For having given an account of all the cities on the *Arabian* side of the *Nile;* as soon as he has specified *Babylon, Heliou, Vicus Judæorum, Thou;* he, as it were at a leap, passes at once to *Heroopolis,* and the towns on the *Red Sea:* which were nearly in the same parallel as the others. So that there was certainly neither province nor city below these mentioned, to the east of the great *Pelusiac* branch. All that way, as I have before shewn, was a desert to the borders of *Palestine.*

The same inference may be made from *Ptolemy;* who, omitting some of the places mentioned in the *Itinerary,* takes notice but of three towns in *Arabia,* I mean so low as *Delta,* between the *Nile* and the *Red Sea;* [21] Εν μεθοριῳ Αραβιας και Αφροδιτοπολεως, Βαβυλων, Ἡλιουπολις, and then, at a great

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[20] *Anton. Itinerar.*

In ARABIA	———
Aphroditopolis	———
Scenas Mandras	M. P. XX.
Babylon	M. P. XII.
Heliu	M. P. XII.
Scenas Veteranorum	M. P. XVIII.
Vicum Judæorum	M. P. XII.
Thou	M. P. XII.
Hero	M. P. XXIV.
Serapin	M. P. XVIII.
Clysma	M. P. L.

[21] Geogr. lib. 4.

distance, Ἡρώων πολις. The reason of this difference between the two writers seems to arise from hence. *Ptolemy* is describing the chief cities of the earth, and takes notice of them only: the other is giving an account of roads, and the places to be passed through in going from one country to another. He therefore takes in all; not only cities and towns, but καθμοι, *hydreumata*, *lapides*, *tabernacula*, places both inhabited and otherwise, together with the distances between them. He omits nothing that can be looked upon as a landmark. In the main point they agree: neither of them placing either nome or city in *Arabia*, to the east of lower *Egypt*; which is what I wanted to prove. For as to *Sile* and *Thaubazium*, mentioned in another part of the *Itinerary*; they were very obscure places, and probably named and distinguished for landmarks, or for the sake of water; such as *Agerud*, *Agiuz*, and *Hospitium filii Saïd* mentioned by modern travellers and in the *Nubian* geographer. Many places are referred to in the *Itinerary* without names, consequently not towns, nor habitations; such as *contra Psellos*, *contra Talmas*, *contra Lato*, &c.; spots of ground to be passed over, that could not be described but by places they were opposite to. There is no reason to think that *Sile* or *Thaubazium* were inhabited; for they occur no where else: and the author his self does not set them down in his list of *Arabian* cities. And if it should be found that there were some inhabitants, it

would not affect my argument. For I would not be thought to contend, that there was not a straggling town or two scattered in the range of the country, like *Palmyra* in the desert: though I do not know that there were any; nor do I think that the nature of the country would admit of it. All that I insist upon is, that there were no nomes, nor places of any repute: particularly, that the provinces of *Delta*, generally referred to *Arabia*, were within the precincts of the *Nile*, and in the best of *Egypt*.

These were the provinces of *Phacusa*, *Bubastus* and *Heliopolis;* three of the most remarkable nomes. As I have taken some pains to shew where they were not situated, it is time to relieve the reader, and to determine where they were. They were all contiguous to each other, and towards the summit of lower *Egypt*. I have been obliged to be thus particular in my proof; because *Heliopolis* is almost by every writer placed to the east of the *Nile;* and the neighbouring provinces are transposed with it. It is well known that the country called *Delta* was termed so from the resemblance it bore to the *Greek* letter of that name. It is a large triangle; whose sides are included by the *Pelusiac* and *Canobic* branches of the *Nile*, and its basis is formed by the sea. "As you proceed upwards," says *Herodotus*, "from the sea through "the middle of *Egypt*, the country may be es-

" teemed broad, till you get as high as *Heliopolis;* " being all the way open and champain, marshy " and without water—As you pass upwards from " *Heliopolis*, it grows narrow on account of the " mountain of *Arabia*, that here runs parallel with " the country, tending from north to south, and " continually verging towards the *Red Sea.* In " this mountain are the [22] quarries, from whence " the stones were taken for the construction of the " pyramids, that are near *Memphis.* Here [at " these quarries] is the hither end of the mountain, " from whence it extends itself in the direction I " have mentioned." [23] Ενθευτεν μεν και μεχρι Ἡλιουπολιος ες την μεσογαιαν εςι ευρεα Αιγυπτος, ουσα πασα ὑωτιη τε και ανυδρος, και ιλυς. κ. τ. λ. Απο δε Ἡλιουπολιος ανω ιοντι, ςεινη εςιν Αιγυπτος· τη μεν γαρ της Αραβιης ορος παρατεταται, φερον απ' αρκτε προς μεσαμβριης τε και νοτε, αιει ανω τεινον ες την Ερυθρην καλεομενην Θαλασσαν· εν τω αἱ λιθοτομιαι ενεισι, αἱ ες τας Πυραμιδας κατατμηθεισαι τας εν Μεμφι. Ταυτη μεν ληγον, ανακαμπτει ες τα ειρηται ορος. It is manifest from hence that the nome of *Heliopolis* was a mediterranean district: and consequently the two provinces *Phacusa* and *Bubastus*, that are always mentioned with it, were so likewise. This is evident from *Ptolemy;* who, in giving an

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[22] There was a town there that they gave name to, called *Latopolis.*

[23] Lib. 2. cap. 8.

account of all the nomes in lower *Egypt* from the bottom upwards, ends with these three; [24] Αραβιας νομος, και μητροπολις Φακουσα· Βαβασιτης νομος, και μητροπολις Βαβασος· Ηλιουπολιτης νομος, και μητροπολις Ηλιουπολις. The first of these *Phacusa*, called by *Strabo Phaccusa*, but mentioned only as a village, was the province at whose summit the *Nile* was first divided, where stood the city *Cercasora*. Many writers, misled by its being called the *Arabian* nome, have supposed it to be situated in that country: but I have shewn that it could not be so. Besides, what may seem a paradox, this very circumstance of its being called the *Arabian* nome proves it. The author of the *Itinerary* mentions many places of upper *Egypt*, that were in *Arabia:* and *Ptolemy* speaks of several nomes above *Delta*, to the number of nineteen or twenty, one half of which (at least a great number) were to the east of the *Nile*, and in *Arabia*. Among others *Aphroditopolis*, *Antinoopolis*, *Panopolis*, were certainly there. If *Phacusa* had been in that part of the world, they could never have called it the *Arabian* province by way of distinction; when there were so many others that were in the same situation. The title conferred upon it would not have been adequate to the end proposed: and what would have been given by way of eminence to particularize, must have proved

[24] Geogr. lib. 4.

matter of doubt and confusion. The title therefore was conferred for another reason; as I shall hereafter shew. *Ptolemy* has taken care to guard us against this mistake; by distinguishing between the province termed *Arabian*, and the places that were really in that country: Αραβιας νομος, και μητροπολις Φακουσα. The nome called *Arabian* was *Phacusa;* but the places really situated upon the borders of that part of the world were *Babylon, Heliopolis, Heroum:* εν μεθοριω Αραβιας και Αφροδιτοπολεως, Βαβυλων, Ηλιουπολις, Ηρωων πολις. From hence we gain this additional evidence, that there were two cities of *Egypt* called *Heliopolis;* which is a circumstance that has never been attended to by any one historian antient or modern, and has been the cause of very great confusion. The first of these was a city of lower *Egypt*, that gave name to a province; the same that is so particularly mentioned by *Herodotus.* The other was a city to the east of the *Nile* in *Arabia;* whose situation is thus described in the *Itinerary*, agreeable to what is above said by [25] *Ptolemy;*

Aphrodito - - - - - - -	———
Scenas Mandras - - - -	M. P. XX.
Babylon - - - - - -	M. P. XII.
Heliu - - - - - - - -	M. P. XII.

[25] Hence *Cellarius* is certainly to blame for placing these three provinces in the deserts of *Arabia;* and for founding his opinion

Neither the last city nor *Babylon* are mentioned by *Herodotus*; for they did not exist in his time: but the other *Heliopolis*, the more antient and famous, he gives an ample description of, as we have seen above. It is mentioned too by *Diodorus Siculus* and *Josephus*; but by neither of them accurately: for they make one account of two places, and confound them together. Though some of these writers had been in *Egypt*, yet it is certain that they did not know that there were two cities of the same name; for not one of them, except *Ptolemy*, makes any distinction. They are always confused when they speak of this part of the world;

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upon the evidence of *Ptolemy*, which he did not sufficiently attend to. *Extra Delta, Arabiam versus, Ptolemæus tres nomos posuit. Primum dicit Arabiæ nomon, cujus metropolim Phacusam facit, Bubastico flumini adpositum: secundum Bubasticum nomon, cujus urbs est Bubastus seu Bubastis ad idem flumen sita, cui nomen dat: tertium Heliopolitanum nomon.* There is a mistake in the first position; for *Ptolemy* does not place these nomes, nor any nomes in *Arabia*. He besides mentions but one *Arabian* nome; though I think *Heliopolis* may likewise be esteemed such: not on account of its situation, but for another reason that I shall hereafter mention. All that *Ptolemy* says is this; Αραβιας νομος, και μητροπολις Φακουσα· Βυβαστιτης νομος, και μητροπολις Βυβαστος. Ηλιουπολιτης νομος, και μητροπολις Ηλιουπολις. Εν μεθορίω Αραβιας και Αφροδιτοπολιτης, Βαβυλων, Ηλιουπολις, Ηρωων πολις. *Phacusa* is by many writers included in *Heliopolis*, so that one province is constituted out of two.

and the circumstances of both places are referred to one only. *Strabo* is in some degree plain and intelligible: for, having mentioned the town of *Phacusa*, and the great canal that began immediately from it, he says, " These places are towards " the top of *Delta:* there is likewise *Bubastus* " and its nome, and likewise *Heliopolis* above, &c."[26] Ουτοι δ' οι τοπoι πλησιαζουσι τη κορυφη τυ Δελτα· αυτη δε και η Βυβαστος πολις, και ο Βυβαστιτης νομος, και υπερ αυτων ο Ηλιοπολιτης νομος. Ενταυθα δ' εστιν η τυ Ηλιυ πολις. His *Epitomiser* says the same—περι την αρχην τυ Δελτα εστιν η τε Βυβαστος πολις, και Μεμφις, και Ηλιυπολις. In respect to this antient city, *Herodotus* always speaks of it as lying in a line, as you pass from the sea upwards to *Thebes* and superior *Egypt*. He makes use of it as a landmark to be directed by in going up the *Nile;* as an intermediate point to measure from, in stating the length of the country.

Ενθευτεν μεν [απο θαλασσης] και μεχρι Ηλιυπολις	L. 2. 7.
εστι δε οδος ες την Ηλιυπολιν—ανω ιοντι	L. 2. 7.
η δε ες Ηλιυπολιν απο θαλασσης	L. 2. 7.
απο δε Ηλιυπολεος ανω ιοντι	L. 2. 8.
απο δε Ηλιυπολιος ες Θηβας εστι αναπλοος εννεα ημερεων	L. 2. 9.

[26] Vol. 2. pag. 1158.

How can these references be in the least applicable to a place in *Arabia*, beyond the limits of *Egypt*, in quite a different direction? They certainly relate to an interamnian city, that lay in the path marked out; as the antient *Heliopolis* did, the city we have been treating of. The other *Heliopolis* was unknown to *Herodotus;* and was situated quite out of the line of direction, lying to the east of the *Nile* and all its branches: so that it could not be passed by in going up or down the river; nor be any ways referred to, as the other city is referred to.

These uncertainties in the antient geography have misled the moderns very much: who have neglected their evidence in points where they are universally agreed; and too often copy them, where they differ from one another, and are at variance with themselves. Such has been the obscurity, that has hitherto attended the history of three of the principal *Egyptian* provinces, of which *Heliopolis* was particularly remarkable. Here was the city *On*, so famous for its temple and religious rites; whose inhabitants are reported to have been των Αιγυπτιων λογιωτατοι, "the wisest of the *Egyptians.*" The temple is said to have been very magnificent: and its original name was *Ain Shems* or *Shemesh, the fountain of the sun:* from whence the whole province received its name, being called at different periods [27] *Ain, Aven,* and *On. Bubastus* was to

[27] Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of *Israel;* Behold, I

the east of this, and likewise a noted province; separated from the former by the great *Sebennytic* branch; and from *Arabia* by the *Pelusiac*. It was, like *Heliopolis*, renowned for its temple: which is represented as a magnificent structure; and was dedicated to the goddess *Beshch* or *Beshet*, the Αρτεμις αγρια or *Diana Agrestis*, as interpreted by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. This nome and the chief city of it are the *Phibeseth* of the Scriptures: and they are often mentioned in conjunction with *On* or *Heliopolis*, which was next in situation. The prophet *Ezekiel*, in his denunciation of God's vengeance upon the land of *Egypt*, mentions them as joined together in situation, and partners in calamity. [28] "The young men of *Aven* and of *Phibe-*"*seth* shall fall by the sword: and these cities shall "go into captivity." Which two places are by the *Seventy* very properly translated *Heliopolis* and *Bubastus*.

There may not possibly at first sight appear any great similitude between *Phibeseth* and *Bubastus*: but they were undoubtedly one and the same place; as may be proved from their situation, and many

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will send and take *Nebuchadnezzar* the king of *Babylon* my servant.—And when he cometh, he shall smite the land of *Egypt*. —He shall break also the images of *Beth-shemesh*, that is in the land of *Egypt*; and the houses of the gods of the *Egyptians* shall he burn with fire. *Jeremiah* 43. v. 10, 11—13.

[28] Chap. 30. v. 17.

other circumstances. It is to be observed that the mouth or opening of a river or canal was called by the *Hebrews* פ, *Pi* or *Phi*. Hence, [29] *Phi Haaroth*, before which the children of *Israel* encamped is by the *Seventy* translated κατα στομα Ειρωθ, "over-"against the mouth of *Haaroth* or *Hiroth*;" or overagainst the opening of [30] *Haaroth*. The *Egyptians* seem to have used it in the same acceptation for the mouth of a canal: and it often occurs for the canal itself, or branch of a river. Thus *Pithom* was properly the canal of *Thom*: *Phi Nepthim* the canal of *Nepthim*. This was one of the tribes of the *Mizraim*, that settled upon the sea-coast in the lower part of *Egypt*, to the west: the same that are mentioned in *Genesis*; [31] "And *Mizraim* "begat *Ludim*, and *Anamim*, and *Lehabim*, and "*Naphtuhim*." In these two instances the word is exactly conformable to the [32] *Hebrew* pronunciation: but it seems in general to have been pronounced with a B instead of the letter P; which letters are in most languages convertible, and often

[29] *Exod.* 14. v. 2.

[30] Than the Lorde spake unto *Moses* sayinge: bid the children of *Israel*, that they turn and pitch their tents before the entryage of *Hiroth*. *Tindall's* translation of the *Pentateuch*. 1530.

[31] *Gen.* 10. v. 13.

[32] *Phatnicum* seems to be *Phitanicum*, the mouth of the river *Tanis*.

substituted one for another. Hence the *Bisehor* was the canal of the *Sehor* or *Nile* proper, which the *Grecks* called *Busiris: Bicalig* was the mouth of the *calig* or canal, which they termed *Bucolicum:* and *Bi Beseth* the river of *Beseth*, the *Phibesetb* of the Scriptures, changed by the *Greeks* to *Bibesitus*, and contracted *Bubastus*[33]. Sometimes it was subjoined to the name of the place that was spoken of; as *Cnoufbi* or *Canoufbi*, the canal or mouth of the *Cnouf;* which the *Greeks* changed to *Canoubicum: Athribis*, or, as *Stephanus* reads it, *Atharrhabis*, the mouth or canal of *Athrib.* Nor was this manner of denominating cities from the rivers and canals they stood on peculiar to *Egypt* only, and corresponding to the *Hebrew* idiom: there was a manifest similitude between all the oriental languages; and the same analogy may be observed to extend to those of *Phenicia* and *Arabia:* so that all seem originally to have been little more than dialects of the same tongue. It is true, *Joseph* affected before his brethren to make use of an interpreter. Yet, that there was a resemblance and affinity between the *Egyptian* language and the

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[33] The *Greeks* changed it to *Bo* and *Bon.* The *Borysthenes* seems to be *Bo Ruthen*, the mouth of the river *Ruthen;* called so from the *Rutheni. Bithynia* is of the same composition: *Thyné merce—Horace.* lib. 3. Od. 7. which is further explained by a passage in *Claudian: Thyni Thraces erant, quæ nunc Bithynia fertur.* In Eutrop. lib. 2. v. 247.

Hebrew is certain; though the *Phenician* was still nearer: for that was, according to St. *Jerome*[34], *inter Ægyptiacam et Hebræam media, et Hebrææ magnâ ex parte affinis.*

The *Latin bucca*, the *Italian* and *Spanish bocca*, and the *French bouche* are all derived from hence; and are often made use of in the same signification. It was differently pronounced in different ages, as well as different countries. The city *Bona* on the coast of *Barbary* is a corruption of [35] *Bi* or *Bo Anah*; the city at the mouth of the river *Anah* or *Anab*. *Bizerta* is the city at the mouth of the *Zered* or *Zerd*. The natives say, it is derived from *Ben Zerdt*, "the offspring of the canal or rivulet:" but it certainly, without any strain or alteration, signifies the mouth of the river it stands upon; which is called the *Zered* or *Zerdt*. This may be inferred from the history of it. [36] "Eight miles to "the south by west of cape *Blanco*, at the bottom

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[34] In *Esaiam*. lib. 2. cap. 19.

[35] Instead of *Bo Anah* or *Anab* it is now called *Blaid al Aneb*, or the town of *Aneb*: but the country round about preserves the antient name; being still called *Anebe*, or the country at the mouth of the *Aneb*. For the situation of this place, see *Shaw*. pag. 95.

[36] *Shaw*'s Travels. pag. 144 and 145.

One of the chief ports in the *Red Sea* is *Yamboe*, which signifies the mouth of the sea. It is mentioned by *Ovington*; and is the Ιαμβια of *Ptolemy*. *Leo Afric.* calls it *Yamputh*.

" of a large gulf, is the city *Bizerta*; pleasantly " situated upon a canal, betwixt an extensive lake " and the sea." Again; " the gulf of *Bizerta*, " the *Sinus Hipponensis* of the antients, is a beau- " tiful sandy inlet:" and the city stands at the mouth of it. The *Boujah*, the antient *Salda*, mentioned by the same author, is *Beoujah*, the city situated upon the river or mouth of [37]*Oujah*: and *Boushatter*, where *Utica* was formerly built, seems to be *Bo-sujar*; which *Sujar* is the antient river, though the name be almost lost.

From hence we may in some degree form a judgment of the analogy that subsisted among some of the primitive languages; and of the true etymology of those places, that I have been speaking of in *Egypt*. *Cellarius* thinks that the canals took their names from the cities that were built upon their banks: and it possibly may have been in some instances true. But, I believe, in general it was otherwise; and I think it may be proved from the natural history of the country. Under *Menes* the whole plain of lower *Egypt* was a morass—[38] επι τετυ, πλην τε Θηβαϊκε νομε, πασαν Αιγυπτον ειναι ἑλος: and it is still liable to be annually overflowed. To make it habitable, sluices were opened; and canals formed, that the passages of the *Nile* might be

[37] *Shaw*'s Travels. pag. 89.

[38] *Herodot.* lib. 2. cap. 4.

cleared: which canals were denominated from some deity or hero, such as *Ammon*, *Osiris*, *Canouf*; who were supposed to have conducted the affair. Great part of the *Egyptian* mythology is founded upon these operations. When these works were completed, and the land became by degrees fit to receive inhabitants; cities were built upon those canals and rivers, and received their names from them. Thus *Bisehor*, the *Bisehoris* or *Busiris* of the *Greeks*, was the city at the mouth of the *Sehor* or *Siris*: *Bibeshet*, the city at the canal of [39] *Beshet*: differing little from *Mardike*, *Wansdike*, and the towns of *Sluis* in *Holland*: but still nearer in analogy to *Exmouth*, *Weymouth*, *Yarmouth*, and towns of the like composition in *Britain*. Some of the openings and branches of the *Nile* were formed by the violence of the inundations: but there were others, that seem to have been the work of art; and were called by the *Egyptians* פתח, *Phacat*, and by the *Greeks* διωρυγες: the meaning of which is obvious. The *Phacnammonis* is nothing else but the *Phacat No Ammon*, the dike of *No Ammon*: *Phaccusa*, though said to be the ca-

[39] *Beshah* was a goddess worshipped originally in upper *Egypt*; where there was a city of the same name, called afterwards from *Antinous*, *Antinoopolis*: and by *Helladius* the two names are joined in one, and the city called *Besha-Antinöus*. See *Photius*.

pital of a province as well as a village, is originally the dike or canal of *Cusa*. From whence it is plain, that these places were posterior in time to the streams they stood on; and received their names from them.

This canal of *Phaccusa* commenced at a village of the same name, which was situated towards the foot of the *Arabian* mountain; at the part called the hill of the quarries. Here it began; and, after taking a great circumference, it turned towards the east and south-east, and entered the *Red Sea* near *Heroopolis*. It was an amazing work, reaching above an hundred miles; and carried on with immense labour and expense: and is said to have cost the lives of an hundred and twenty thousand persons. The completion of it is attributed to *Sesostris*, *Nechus*, and others: but to whom it may most justly be ascribed, it is not easy to determine. The account given of it by *Herodotus* is very precise and intelligible; he gives the credit of it to *Nechus*. "This prince was the son of *Psammitichus*, and "king of *Egypt*; who first formed a canal of "communication between the *Nile* and *Red Sea*: "which *Darius* the *Persian* in aftertimes opened "again. The length of it was four days naviga-

[o] If *Ptolemy*'s account be quite true, there were two places of the same name opposite to each other.

" tion; and it was of width sufficient for two " triremes to pass and turn, without inconvenience. " It was supplied with water from the *Nile:* which " water was carried on in a direction a little above " the city *Bubastus;* running close by *Patumus* a " city in *Arabia*, and from thence extending to the " *Red Sea.* The first opening of the canal is at " the great level or plain of *Egypt*, where it is " contiguous to *Arabia:* above which plain, that is " to the south of it, is the hill of the quarries, " which extends upwards towards *Memphis.* At " the very foot of this mountain is the canal first " dug, and passes from west to east in a long course, " and afterwards turns to those hollows and open- " ings in the mountain, which afford a passage " southward, where it enters the *Arabian* gulf."

Ψαμμιτιχυ δε Νεχως παις εγενετο, και εβασιλευσε Αιγυπτου, ος τη διωρυχι επεχειρησε πρωτος, τη ες την Ερυθρην θαλασσαν φερουσι, την Δαρειος ὁ Περσης δευτερα διωρυξε· της μηκος εστι πλοος ἡμερησι τεσσαρες· ευρος δε ωρυχθη, ὡστε τριηρεας δυο πλεειν ὁμου ελαυνομενας. Ηκται δε απο του Νειλου το ὑδωρ ες αυτην. Ηκται δε καταπερθε ολιγον Βουβαστιος πολιος παρα Πατουμον την Αραβιην πολιν· εσεχει δε ες την Ερυθρην θαλασσαν. Ωρυκται δε πρωτον μεν του πεδιου του Αιγυπτιου, τα προς Αραβιην εχοντα· εχεται δε καταπερθε του πεδιου το κατα Μεμφιν τεινον ορος, εν τω αἱ λιθοτομιαι ενεισι. Του ων δη ορεος τουτου παρα την ὑπωρεην ηκται ἡ διωρυξ απ'

[41] Lib. 2. cap. 158.

ἑσπερης μαχρη προς την νυ, και επειτα τεινει ες διασφαγας φερουσας απο της αρκτου προς μεσαμβριην τε και νοτον ανεμον, ες τον κολπον τον Αραβιον—την επι Νεχω βασιλευος ορυσσοντες Αιγυπτιων απωλοντο δυωδεκα μυριαδες.

The whole description is particularly clear and exact, as one would expect from *Herodotus*. *Strabo* is not quite so precise: and, as *Egypt* abounded with works of this kind, he has confused and blended different accounts together. As he is in one part sufficiently explicit, so as not to be misapprehended, I shall make use of it to illustrate farther what *Herodotus* has before described. [42] Ἡ δε αρχη της διωρυγος της εκδιδουσης εις την Ερυθραν, απο κωμης αρχεται Φακουσης, ἡ συνεχης εστι και ἡ Φιλωνος κωμη· πλατος δ' εχει σταδιων ἑκατον ἡ διωρυξ, βαθος δ' οσον αρκει μυριοφορῳ νηι. For Φιλωνος κωμη we should certainly read [43] Φιθωνος κωμη; and the purport of it will be this: "The canal that "reaches from the *Nile* to the *Red Sea* commences "at the village of *Phaccusa*, which has a communi- "cation with *Phithon*. It is an hundred cubits "wide, and of a depth sufficient for a first rate ship." From these accounts the situation of several places may be tolerably defined. It is pretty certain that the *Patumus* of *Herodotus* is the *Philon*, or rather

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[42] Vol. 2. pag. 1158.

[43] The situation warrants the alteration; which is confirmed by the evidence of *Herodotus*: besides, such a town as *Philon* was never heard of.

the *Phithon*, of *Strabo*: both which relate to the *Pithom* of the Scriptures. This town was upon the *Arabian* canal, in the neighbourhood of *Phaccusa*, and overagainst *Bubastus*. All these places were more or less near to the hill of *Arabia*, at the foot of which the canal commenced. It is to be observed, that the nome of *Phaccusa* is not taken notice of by *Herodotus*; and *Strabo* only mentions a village of that name: but *Ptolemy* speaks of a city, the capital of a province. It was very antient; and seems to have been by most *Greek* writers included in the nome of *Heliopolis*. This nome is represented by *Herodotus* as the uppermost in *Delta*; extending towards the mountain of *Arabia*, where the country became most contracted. At the very point of *Delta* stood the city *Cercasora*, so described as not to be mistaken; being nearly overagainst the mountain afore mentioned, and being "the place "where the *Nile* was first divided:"—κατ' ἣν σχίζεται ὁ Νεῖλος. *Strabo*, however, places it in *Lybia*: and, as the *Canobic* branch, which separated it, might in *Strabo's* time be much impaired; (in the same manner as it is at this day) he might esteem it no longer an island, and place it very truly on the continent. But there are other difficulties in his account, that cannot be so easily got over. As *Strabo* was upon the spot, and very inquisitive, and is very minute and diligent in his description; we cannot suppose him to have been gressly mistaken: nor could there be originally that obscurity and incon-

sistency, which we now experience in this passage. After having spoken of the canal, together with the towns of *Phaccusa* and *Phithom*, he says; [44] ουτοι δ' οι τοποι πλησιαζουσι τη κορυφη του Δελτα· αυτη δε και η Βυβαστος πολις, και ο Βυβαστιτης νομος· και υπερ αυτων ο Ηλιοπολιτης νομος. Ενταυθα δ' εστιν η του Ηλιου πολις. "These places (the towns of *Phaccusa* and *Phithom*) are situated not far from the vertex of *Delta*: there too (towards that vertex) is the city of *Bubastus* with its nome, and above them the nome of *Heliopolis*, with the city of the sun." After this he gives a very ample description of the last city, and its superb temple; and then concludes; εντευθεν δη ο Νειλος εστιν ο υπερ του Δελτα, "you come now to the river above *Delta*." Thus far it is plain: but afterwards, every circumstance is perplexed and contradictory; so that there is no interpreting what he says with any consistency. [45] Εντευθεν δη ο Νειλος εστιν ο υπερ του Δελτα· τουτου δη τα μεν δεξια καλεουσι Λιβυην αναπλεοντι· ωσπερ και τα περι Αλεξανδρειαν, και την Μαρεωτιν· τα δ' εν αριστερα Αραβιαν. Η μεν ουν Ηλιοπολιτις εν τη Αραβια εστιν, εν δε τη Λιβυη Κερκεσουρα πολις, κατα τας Ευδοξου καλεμενη σκοπας· δεικνυται γαρ σκοπη τις προ της Ηλιου πολεως· καθαπερ και προ της Κνιδου, καθ' ην εστημειωτο εκεινος των ωρανιων τινας κινησεις. Ο δε νομος Λιτοπολιτης ουτος. The meaning is this: "After

[44] Vol. 2. pag. 1158.

[45] Ibid. pag. 1160.

" *Heliopolis* you come to the *Nile* above *Delta:* " and as you pass up the river, the right hand side " is called *Libya;* just as all the country is about " *Alexandria* and *Maréotis:* but the left hand side " is esteemed *Arabia.* The nome of *Heliopolis* is " therefore in *Arabia:* and the city *Cercesoura* is " in *Libya,* lying near the observatory of *Eudoxus.* " For they shew you an observatory just before the " city *Heliopolis,* situated like that at *Cnidus:* " which observatory *Eudoxus,* when in *Egypt,* made " use of to contemplate the celestial motions. This " is the nome called *Litopolites.*" Here is a sad confused scene. We are informed that above *Delta* on the right hand of the *Nile* was *Libya,* on the left hand was *Arabia;* in which last was situated *Heliopolis* and its nome; as *Cercesoura* on the other side was in *Libya.* The author marks out the situation of *Cercesoura,* by saying it was near the observatory of *Eudoxus:* which observatory stood before *Heliopolis,* the city of the sun, and in the nome of *Litopolis.* Here is a city in *Libya* described by an object in *Arabia;* which could not well determine it, as it lay at a distance, though represented and applied to as near: and this object is said to stand before *Heliopolis,* the capital of a very considerable nome: and yet the author concludes that this is the nome of *Litopolis*: which is absurd and impossible; for no such nome existed. This passage has been corrected by some unskilful hand; and the order of things has been inverted. A change of

place in two words, and a very slight alteration in one of them will reduce every thing to its original state, and clear up all this perplexity. The names *Heliopolites* and *Latopolites*, being pretty much alike, have been transposed, and should be made to change place again. But still there will remain this difficulty, that no such nome as [46] *Litopolites* was ever heard of. Besides, what is the meaning of ἡ Λιτοπολιτης ? it is neither sense nor grammar; no more than ἡ Ἡλιοπολιτις was before. The passage is still depraved: but this feminine article, that is here retained, will lead us to the true reading as it was originally, which was [47] ἡ Λιτοπολις. The text then

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[46] There was νομος Λητοπολιτης towards the lower part of *Delta* to the west, called so from Λητους πολις, *the city of Latona:* but that was quite a different place from this. And there was Λητοπολις high up in *Thebäis*, likewise far removed from this city.

[47] Ἡ μεν γε Ἡλιοπολιτις: it should have been ὁ Ἡλιοπολιτης, if *Heliopolis* had been here meant: but the corrector, who changed the text from *Litopolis*, did not know that the nome was masculine, though the city had been feminine: nor, though it was Λητοπολις with a single letter, yet it was Ἡλιοπολις with a diphthong: he therefore left these remains of the original reading, which in some measure lead us to the truth and confirm it. Out of ἡ λητοπολις they formed Ἡλιοπολις and Ἡλιοπολιτης. *Casaubon*, in a short note upon this passage, would have the place called *Latopolis*, according to *Ptolemy*. But the city, which he speaks of, was not situated here; but, as I have above mentioned, in the *Thebäis*. Whatever this city was called, it was a translation of the *Egyptian* name, which was taken from the nature and situation of the place near the quarries. *Latopolis*, if it was so call-

will stand thus: τα μεν δεξια καλεσι Λιβυην—τα δ' εν αριστερα Αραβιαν· ἡ μεν ων Λιτοπολις εν τη Αραβιᾳ εστιν, εν δε τη Λιβυη Κερκεσυρα πολις κατα τας Ευδοξε κειμενη σκοπας· δεικνυται γαρ σκοπη τις προ της Ἡλιυ πολεως, καθαπερ και προ της Κνιδε, καθ' ἡν εσημειυτο εκεινος των υρανιων τινας κινησεις· ὁ δε νομος Ἡλιοπολιτης ὁυτος. "On the right "hand of the *Nile* is *Libya*, as you sail up; on the "left, *Arabia*. Therefore the city *Litopolis* must "be esteemed in *Arabia*; as *Cercesoura*, a place "on the other side, is adjudged to *Libya*. *Cerce-* "*soura* stands near the observatory of *Eudoxus*: "for they shew you in the front of *Heliopolis* an "observatory, &c. that *Eudoxus* made use of. Here "then is the nome of *Heliopolis*:" between which city and *Cercesoura* this edifice stood. By this small change every thing becomes clear and intelligible: so that *Strabo's* account agrees with that of *Herodotus*, which it illustrates; and he is no longer at variance with himself.

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ed, was named from the *Litomiæ*, *quasi* λατομων πολις, from λας, *lapis*: and *Litopolis*, which is the same as Λιθοπολις, is of the like original. It must be owned that *Stephanus Byzant.* calls this city *urbs Latonæ*: Λητους πολις, πολις Λιγυστικ· εστι δε μοιρα Μεμφιδος: but he is certainly mistaken. It was *Litopolis*, that was in this province. *Strabo's* authority must be valid; he was an eye-witness of what he speaks of; and seems to have been very inquisitive and exact. *Harpocration* mentions the same place by the name of *Litepolis*: which is still a mistake for *Litopolis*, but nearer to the reading in *Strabo*.

OF THE

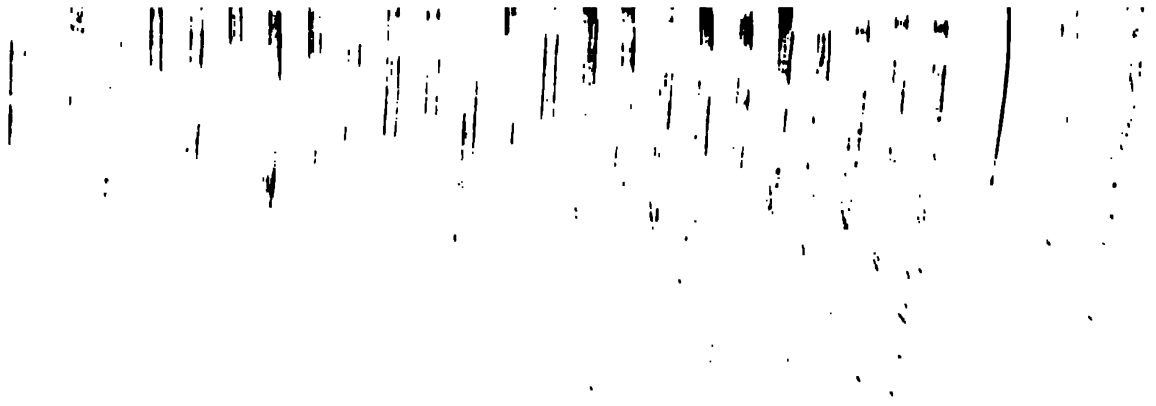
TEMPLE OF ONIAS

CALLED

HELIOPOLIS.

IT is very manifest from what I have said, that not only the nome of *Phacusa* and *Bubastus* were within the limits of *Delta;* but that *Heliopolis*, which is so generally referred to *Arabia*, was really a mediterranean city. Hence it is wonderful that so many learned men have determined it another way: who fell into this mistake by not observing, that there were two cities of the same name: the one as *Pliny* terms it, interior; [1] *intus, et Arabiæ conterminum, claritatis magnæ, Solis oppidum;* the other without, of less note, really situated in *Arabia*, and modern in comparison with the former. It lay to the east of the *Nile*, and to the north of the *Fossa Regia;*

[1] Nat. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 9.



"border thereof to the Lord." The learned [5] *Scaliger* has a very ingenious conjecture, that *Onias* was led to the choice of this prefecture of *Heliopolis* for erecting his temple by this prophecy: but at the same time making use of an alteration that rendered it more in his favour. Instead of [6] *Air haheres yeamer leachath*, "one shall be called the city of destruction;" it is imagined that he read it, *Air hacheres yeamer leachath*, "one shall be called the city of the sun." This is a happy conjecture, and seems to be well grounded: but still must be admitted with some limitation. For first, *Onias* could not be led to the choice of that prefecture by this passage: "the city of the sun" not being the place where he took up his residence: nor was his temple founded in the nome of *Heliopolis*. It was certainly distinct from it; as I have shewn, and will farther prove. The name of *Heliopolis* was given to it by a mistake resulting from a similitude that subsisted between the true name *Onion*, and the antient *On* or *Heliopolis*. This he availed himself of; and endeavoured to make the passage in *Isaiah* accord with this lucky circumstance, and be prophetic

[5] Animadvers. ad *Euseb. Chron.* p. 144. *sub numero* MDCCCLVI.

[6] *Aquila* and *Theodotion* render this passage *Civitas Ares. Symmachus* and *St. Jerome* translate it *the city of the sun.* The *Chaldee Paraphrast* retains both; *civitas solis quæ destruetur.*

of the establishment of his temple. The name was certainly given to it after it was built; and the prophecy was made use of to support what was done, rather than to promote it. There seems to have been a collusion between *Onias* and those of his party, to impose this name upon the place; in order that it might be intitled to the benefit of the prediction. This is plain from the *Seventy:* where, to give it a proper antiquity, they have supposed it to have been built by their ancestors when in *Egypt;* and, that what *Onias* had done, was only a renewal of the antient place and name. For where it is said in the original that the *Israelites* [7] "built for *Pha-*"*raoh* treasure-cities, *Pithom* and *Raamses;*" the passage has been tampered with, and has been rendered thus; Και ωκοδομησαν πολεις οχυρας τω Φαραω, την τε Πειθω, και Ραμεσση, και Ων, ἡ εστιν Ἡλιουπολις: somebody shrewdly foisting in "*On*, which is the city of "the sun," to support the pretensions of *Onias;* and to prove that this was the original name of the place which he had new founded. I make no doubt but this was the reason of the interpolation: and I think it a confirmation of *Scaliger*'s conjecture. Yet this passage should prove that it was a different place from the antient *Heliopolis;* or else the translators must be inconsistent with themselves. The city of *Onias*, according to this account, is said to

[7] *Exod.* 1. v. 11.

have been built when the *Israelites* had resided some time in *Egypt:* for they are presumed to be the builders. But there was another of the same name, the antient *On*, that is previously mentioned in the same translation; and was prior to their coming into these parts. It is said that *Joseph*, before the coming of his brethren, had married the daughter of the priest of *On* at the recommendation of *Pharaoh:* which *On* the *Seventy* very properly translate *Heliopolis.* [8] Και εδωκεν αυτω [Φαραω] την Ασενεθ θυγατερα Πετεφρη ιερεως Ηλιουπολεως αυτω εις γυναικα. There was therefore another city called *On*, or *Heliopolis;* antecedent to the city of *Onias*, allowing it to be as antient as they pretend, and manifestly a different city. But, in truth, the whole of this interpretation, that *On* was *Heliopolis*, is an impudent interpolation, and calculated for a particular end. Some of the *Hellenistic Jews* therefore did not seem willing to have the credit of their place and temple rest upon this reading, "one shall be called the city of "the sun;" and at the same time the original reading, *Air haheres*, "the city of destruction," would overthrow all the good they intended to draw from the application: so that it could not stand with their pretensions. There was therefore another expedient thought of; and, instead of the former reading, they substituted *Air hazedek*, that is, "one of them

[8] *Genes.* 41. v. 45.

"shall be called the city of righteousness;" as if they were diffident of the grounds that they went on before; and knew that the prophecy, as it was first moulded, could not relate to their temple.

I cannot quit this subject, without some strictures on *Josephus* for the part he takes in the pretensions of *Onias;* and the mistakes he is guilty of in the process of this story. He informs us, that *Onias* the son of *Onias* petitioned *Ptolemy Philometor* for leave to build a temple in honour of God; and desired a grant of that ground that lay unoccupied in the nome of *Heliopolis*, where had stood an antient *Egyptian* temple, that was now in ruins. It seems, "it was the spot where *Isaiah*, who lived six "hundred years before, had prophesied a temple should be erected by one of his nation." [9] Τουτο δε εβουλετο, θαρρων μαλιστα τω προφητη Ησαϊᾳ, ὁς, ετεσιν εμπροσθεν ἑξακοσιοις πλειον γεγονως, προειπεν, ὡς δει παντως εν Αιγυπτῳ οικοδομηθηναι ναον τῳ μεγιστῳ Θεῳ ὑπ' ανδρος Ιουδαιου. *Onias* therefore, on the strength of this prophecy, writes a letter to *Ptolemy* and his queen *Cleopatra:* which, as it has never, as I know of, been animadverted upon, I will quote at large, together with the answer that was sent in return. The letter was written from *Alexandria*.

[10] Πολλας και μεγαλας ὑμιν χρειας πεπεληχως εν τοις

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[9] *Jos.* Antiq. Jud. lib. 13. cap. 3.

[10] Ibid.

κατα πολεμον εργοις μετα της τȣ Θεȣ βοηθειας, και γενομενος εν τῃ Κοιλῃ Συριᾳ και Φοινικῃ, και εις Λεοντων δε πολιν την Ἡλιοπολιτȣ συν τοις Ιȣδαιοις, και εις αλλȣς τοπȣς αφικομενος τȣ εθνȣς, και πλειςȣς ἑυρων παρα το καθηκον εχοντας ἱερα, και δια τȣτο δυσνȣς αλληλοις, ὁ και Αιγυπτιοις συμβεβηκε δια το πληθος των ἱερων, και το περι της θρησκειας ουχ ὁμοδοξειν· επιτηδειοτατον τοπον ἑυρων εν τῳ προσαγορευομενῳ της Αγριας Βȣβαςεως οχυρωματι, βρυοντα ποικιλης ὑλης και των ἱερων ζωων μεςον· δεομαι συγχωρησαι μοι, το αδεσποτον ανακαθαραντι ἱερον και συμπεπτωκος, οικοδομησαι ναον τῳ μεγιςῳ Θεῳ, καθ' ὁμοιωσιν τȣ εν Ἱεροσολυμοις, τοις αυτοις μετροις, ὑπερ τε σȣ και της γυναικος και των τεκνων· ἱν' εχωσιν ὁι την Αιγυπτον κατοικȣντες Ιȣδαιοι, εις αυτο συνιοντες κατα την προς αλληλȣς ὁμονοιαν, ταις σαις εξυπηρετειν χρειαις. Και γαρ Ησαϊας ὁ προφητης τȣτο προειπεν· Εςαι θυσιαςηριον εν Αιγυπτῳ, Κυριῳ τῳ Θεῳ· και πολλα δε προεφητευσεν αλλα τοιαυτα δια τον τοπον.

The epistle is so diffuse and lax, that it is not easy to reduce it to *English*. The tenor of it is nearly this.

" Having in the war which you have been engaged " in, performed, by the blessing of God, many and " signal services in your behalf, both in *Cœle Syria* " and *Phenicia*; and having observed since my ar- " rival both at *Leontopolis* in the province of *Heli-* " *opolis*, and at other places where the *Jews* reside, " that most of them have temples contrary to what " they ought to have, and on that account are ill- " disposed to one another; (a circumstance I have " observed among the *Egyptians*, which takes its

" rise from the multitude of their temples, and " want of uniformity in their worship) and having " lit upon a most convenient spot, within an inclo- " sure formerly dedicated to the goddess called the " *Agria Bubastis;* which place is full of all kinds " of materials, and abounding with sacred animals: " I humbly beg of you to give me leave to clear " this temple that has no owner, and is in ruins; " and to build there a temple to the most high God, " upon the same model and the same scale as that " at *Jerusalem;* for your sake, and the sake of your " queen and your children: that the *Jews* who live " in *Egypt* may be able to meet together in one " place with proper uniformity; and be ready at " hand to perform any services you may require. I " must moreover assure you, that the prophet " *Isaiah* foretold that such a thing should be: *There* " *shall be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God.* He " likewise prophesied of many other circumstances " relating to this place."

From this letter we may see the scope and intention of *Josephus* in his history; and with what caution and allowance he is to be read. His design was to aggrandize his own nation, by giving an account of their divine establishment originally: and by displaying a series of great events, that from the earliest times had happened in their favour. In doing which he had *Moses* and the prophets before him. But, as he was to adapt his history to the turn and disposition of those he wrote to; he often de-

viates from his guides; and is apt to add, as well as to diminish; according as he thinks it may best suit the taste of those to whom his writings are addressed: being not sufficiently attentive to the strict truth, if he can but dress up his history to advantage. In respect to this letter; some people would except to the propriety of an address in this manner upon a subject of so great importance: especially as *Onias* was at *Alexandria*, the residence of the court; and might have made his petition in person. It may likewise be thought particular to include the wife in an address to a king. It seems likewise improbable that a ruined temple should be full of so many things necessary for his purpose; βρυοντα ποικιλης ὑλης, και των ἱερων ζωων μεσον; that is, "variety of "materials, and beasts for the service of the altar:" especially, when we come to know that, if such a temple did exist, it was upon the verge of a desert. It is hard to account for the many temples that the *Jews* are said to have had in *Egypt;* unless he means *synagogues* and προσευχαι: but those were not unlawful. Nor does it seem politic in *Onias*, when he had a point to carry, to speak against the national worship of the *Egyptians*, and the diversity of their rites and customs: it is not probable he would make his court by such means. Besides, the *Greeks* adopted the gods of the countries they came to: nor could any thing be urged against the variety of rites in *Egypt*, but what would affect equally those of *Greece*. But, setting aside appearances,

let us examine closer; that we may get better hold. The purport of the letter is to obtain leave to found a temple, that a prophet of *Israel* had foretold. It was requested to be built at *Leontopolis* in the province of *Heliopolis*; where the goddess *Bubastis*, the Αρτεμις αγρια of the *Greeks*, had been formerly worshipped. Here is such a complication of mistakes as one seldom meets with. If we may credit *Strabo*, *Leontopolis* was a capital city of a nome of the same name, that lay far to the west, and had its peculiar deity. [11] *Ælian* says that they worshipped lions there: and *Porphyry* mentions the same thing. *Bubastis*, the *Diana Agrestis*, was worshipped at [12] *Bubastus*, the capital of a different nome; and *Heliopolis* was distinct from both: and, what is extraordinary, the place petitioned for was diverse from all three; being neither at *Leontopolis*, nor *Bubastus*, nor in *Heliopolis*, but in *Arabia*. And, as to what *Josephus* mentions, that a temple was foretold to be built, ναος τῳ μεγιστῳ Θεῳ; *Isaiah* says not a syllable that such a temple should be built; much less that a *Jew* should be the builder.

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[11] De Animalibus, lib. 12. cap. 7.—Και ὁ λεων ὡς θειος θρησκευεται· και μερος τι της Αιγυπτου, ὁ καλεσι νομον, επωνυμον εχει Λεοντοπολιτην. *Porph. de Abstinentiâ.* lib. 4. λεοντα δε [τιμωσι] Λεοντοπολιται. *Strab.* vol. 2. pag. 1167.

[12] Εν τη και ἱερον εστι Βυβαστιος—ἡ δε Βυβαστις, κατ' Ἑλλαδα γλωσσαν, εστι Αρτεμις. *Herod.* lib. 2. cap. 137.

The answer that was returned by *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* was gracious beyond measure. They accede to his request; but not without some scruples whether it can be acceptable to God to have an *Heathen* temple converted to his use. They therefore beg of *Onias* to look to that: for they would not take it upon themselves. They seem to pay a great deference to the authority of the *Jewish* prophet; with whom, however, they could have been but little acquainted; and betray a care and caution about offending God, that one could scarce have expected from the worshippers of *Jupiter*. A *Jewish* high priest, if he had been applied to, could not have shewn a more conscientious regard. *Onias*, who was to erect the temple, had not half the reverence and forecast.

[13] Βασιλευς ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ και Βασιλισσα ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ Ονια, χαιρειν.

Ανεγνωμεν σε την παρακλησιν, αξιωντος επιτραπηναι σοι το εν Λεοντοπολει τε Ηλιοπολιτε ἱερον συμπεπτωκος ανακαθαραι, προσαγορευομενον δε της Αγριας Βυβαστεως. Διο και θαυμαζομεν, ει εσαι τῳ Θεῳ κεχαρισμενον το καθιδρυσομενον ἱερον εν ασελγει τοπῳ και πληρει ζωων ἱερων. Επει δε συ φης Ησαϊαν τον προφητην εκ πολλε χρονε τουτο προειρηκεναι, συγχωρεμεν σοι, ει μελλει τουτο εσεσθαι κατα τον νομον, ὡστε μηδεν ἡμας δοκειν εις τον Θεον εξημαρτηκεναι.

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[13] *Jos.* Antiq. Jud. lib. 13. cap. 3.

"King PTOLEMY and Queen CLEOPATRA
"To *Onias*, Health.

"We have read your petition; wherein you re-
"quest that we would permit you to cleanse and
"purify the ruinous temple at *Leontopolis* in the
"prefecture of *Heliopolis*, which is called the tem-
"ple of [14] *Bubastis* the Huntress. In respect to
"which, we cannot help being under some doubt,
"whether a temple built in an impure place, and
"which is full of [15] consecrated animals, can be ac-
"ceptable to God. [16] But since you assure us that
"*Isaiah* the prophet did a great while ago foretel,
"that such a temple should be, we accede to your
"request; with this proviso, that it be done con-

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[14] The goddess *Bubastis* was an *Egyptian* deity, and never distinguished by a *Greek* title. The *Greeks* imagined they saw a resemblance between her and their manifold goddess *Diana*, especially in one character. They therefore called her Αρτεμις Αγρια in their own language, *Bubastis* in the *Egyptian*.

[15] It is difficult to say what animals were not held sacred by the *Egyptians:* those that were particularly esteemed so, and most highly reverenced, were dogs, cats, moles, hawks, owls and baboons.

[16] "But since you assure us that *Isaiah* did a long time ago—" People that invent will sometimes trip. *Onias* in his letter had not said a syllable about how long it was ago. *Josephus* had just before mentioned its being above six hundred years. This part of the letter is not an answer to *Onias;* but to *Josephus* the historian, who had forgot himself.

" formable to the law: so that we may not be found " blameable before God."

Such is the evidence of *Josephus;* and such his opinion about the prophecy, that *Onias* made use of towards the foundation and establishment of his temple. To which opinion the very learned and pious bishop of *Auranches* accedes; and thinks that this prophecy could refer to nothing else, and was herein most assuredly accomplished. [17] *Scio aliter nonnullos sensisse, et hæc ad Sennacheribi et Psammitichi tempora retulisse. Sed et res ipsa, templum nempe Dei in mediâ Ægypto; et locus ipse, civitas Solis; et rei auctor tam perspicuè designantur, ut aliò torqueri posse prophetiam haudquaquam videatur. Cum præsertim accedat Josephi auctoritas, quem duobus locis affirmaturum id non fuisse puto, nisi communi inter Judæos opinione receptum scisset.* But, with just deference to this excellent man, I take the prophecy to relate intirely to a circumstance of more consequence than *Onias*, and his temple. *Isaiah*, as I before observed, makes no mention of a temple: an altar is figuratively spoken of, that was to be in the midst of *Egypt:* which can have no reference to the temple of *Onias*, that

[17] *Huetii Demonstratio Evangelica; propos.* 6. The bishop thinks the prophecy figuratively, κατα σχημα, alludes to the calling of the *Gentiles;* but verbally, κατα λεξιν, to the temple of *Onias.*

was not in the midst of *Egypt*, nor properly in *Egypt*, but in *Arabia*. It is likewise contrary to the nature and tenor of the divine oracles; which are never so revealed and worded, and placed in such a light, that a man shall co-operate as he lists, and verify them at his pleasure: much less that he should, like *Onias*, make it his request to an *Heathen* prince that he would give him leave to fulfil them. They are never made dependant on the will of man: but their illustration and completion is often effected by persons ignorant of the part imposed upon them, and enemies to the cause that they establish. Such have been the means in general, by which Heaven has been pleased to fulfil its high and dark decrees: to which great purpose the very enemy of truth and his emissaries are often made subservient. As to the authority of *Josephus*, which the learned bishop lays a stress upon; it is not in this affair of the least estimation. To shew the influence that *Onias* gained at the court of *Alexandria*, he represents *Ptolemy* almost as an ideot; by making him assent upon such slender motives: επει δε συ φης Ησαϊαν τον προφητην κ. τ. λ. "I am not acquainted "with *Isaiah*," says the king; "but since you assure me he did say so, I shall pay that deference "to his words, as to comply with what you desire;" depending upon your veracity. Of the same nature is his concern about offending God, by suffering a temple to be built to him in a polluted place. How is it possible that *Ptolemy*, who worshipped *Apollo*

and *Diana*, should think that the temple of either of them, though in ruins, was impure? and that he should shew greater deference for the *Jehovah* of *Israel*, than for Θεος πατρωος, the god of his country? It would have been happy for *Ptolemy*, if these had been his sentiments. There is something contradictory in the original request of *Onias*. He complains to *Ptolemy* of the many ἱερα, temples, that the *Jews* had in *Egypt*; and the ill consequences that ensued upon it: yet makes this his reason for building a temple, [17] such an one as was at *Jerusalem*. This plea must be absolutely incomprehensible to any persons who had it addressed to them. How is it possible to conceive that adding to the mischief would remedy the evil? It, surely, required some explanation: as it stands now, it is a paradox.

Besides all this, *Josephus* does not seem to be consistent with himself; and, if we look farther into his account, we may from his own words find matter sufficient to overturn all his evidence. Let us attend to the history of this affair, as he describes it in another place [18]. When *Antiochus Epiphanes*

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[17] To build such an one as was at *Jerusalem* was a bold undertaking.

[18] Ονιας Σιμωνος υἱος, ἑις των εν Ἱεροσλυμοις αρχιερεων, φευγων Αντιοχον της Συριας βασιλεα πολεμιντα τοις Ἰουδαιοις, ἡκεν εις Αλεξανδρειαν· και δεξαμενη Πτολεμαιη φιλοφρονως αυτον, δια την προς Αντιοχον απεχθειαν, ἱφη συμμαχον αυτω ποιησειν το των Ἰουδαιων ἐθνος, ει πεισθειη

was king of *Syria*, he raised *Alcimus* to the office of high priest; though he was not of the race of the priesthood, nor had any title to the preferment. *Onias*, who claimed by right of inheritance, was so irritated at this ill usage, that he fled to *Egypt*: resolving to throw himself at the feet of *Ptolemy Philometor*; between whom and *Antiochus* there subsisted grievous animosities. The king permitted him to come to him, and received him graciously. He told the prince of the great injustice done to him: and begged, as he had been deprived of the priesthood in *Judea*, that he might be permitted to maintain that character in *Egypt*: and that the king would give him leave to build ΠΟΥ, *somewhere or other*, a temple for that purpose. He seconded his plea with a political reason: and assured *Pto-*

τοις ὑπ' αυτω λεγομενοις. Ποιησειν δε τα δυνατα τω βασιλεως ὁμολογησαντος, ηξιωσεν επιτρεπειν αυτω, νεων τε ΠΟΥ της Αιγυπτω κατασκευασασθαι, και τοις πατριοις εθεσι θεραπευειν τον Θεον. Ουτω γαρ Αντιοχω μεν ετι μαλλον εκπολεμωσεσθαι τους Ιουδαιους, τον εν Ιεροσολυμοις νεων πεπορθηκοτι· προς αυτον δ' ευνοϊκωτερως ηξειν, και πολλους επ' αδεια ευσεβειας ὡς αυτον συλλεγησεσθαι. De Bell. Jud. lib. 7. cap. 10. Ὁ τε αρχιερεως Σιμωνος τε δικαιου υἱος Ονιας—λαμβανει τοπον εν τῃ Ἡλιοπολιτῃ νομῳ, κ. τ. λ. *Zonaras*. vol. 1. pag. 207. edit. Paris. 1686. *In Heliopolitano pago*. Euseb. Chron. lib. 2. This is all a mistake: and Σιμωνος υἱος both in *Josephus* and *Zonaras* is erroneously put for Ονια υἱος. The former in Antiq. Jud. lib. 13. cap. 3. styles him Ονια τε αρχιερεως υἱος, ὁμωνυμος δε εν τω πατρι. These different accounts misled the learned *Selden* to imagine that *Josephus* spoke of two temples: but it is certain he alludes always to one. *Selden de Succes. Pontificum Hebræor.* lib. 1. cap. 8.

lemy, that nothing would influence the *Jews* more in his favour, and wean them more from his enemy and rival, than being permitted to enjoy such a temple. It would necessarily draw many of them into *Egypt;* and *Ptolemy* in both places would be sure of their good will and assistance. This was speaking to the purpose. He founded his request on reasons of state; which had more weight with *Ptolemy* than the testimony of *Isaiah* could have had, or of all the prophets put together. These two accounts are different, and, I think, not consistent: and from hence we may infer, that the letters quoted by *Josephus* are not authentic. For if *Onias* gained access to *Ptolemy*, so as to lay before him his plea; and (shewing the advantages that would necessarily accrue to the king and his people from the proposal) got his request ratified: this circumstance precludes all epistolary correspondence; and renders the letters, before sufficiently suspected, to be unnecessary and vain. Not a word of what is principally urged in the letters by way of plea is mentioned here; and what is pleaded in this place is omitted in the letters. Yet both means are said to have had the desired effect: which is incredible. For one of the addresses must have been unnecessary, and the account not true: which that was, I leave the reader to judge.

I took notice above of the just censure that *Josephus* had passed on the *Greek* writers, for not being sufficiently attentive to the truth; but endea-

vouring to make their histories rather agreeable than authentic. I am sorry to say of *Josephus*, that, as he manifestly imitates the *Greeks* in other respects, so he too frequently copies them in this: and is liable to have what he imputes to them retorted upon himself. He is too apt to accommodate his history to the disposition of the very people he blames: and sometimes does not scruple to sacrifice his veracity to the taste of the times that he lived in. This justice must, however, be done him; that in the main he is a very useful historian: and, in respect to the age he lived in, and the circumstances that came under his own cognizance, he seems to have used great diligence and impartiality; and his accounts are very interesting and true. Hence *Bochart*'s character of him may be fairly admitted: who, after having mentioned some mistakes that he had found in him, concludes, however, with a compliment to his merit. [19] *Tot Josephi* σφαλματα *tam paucis verbis docent illi scriptori fidem non esse temere adhibendam, cum versatur in exoticis. Alioqui enim fatendum est nos illi plurimum eo nomine debere, quòd suæ gentis historiam summâ fide et sedulitate scripserit.*

It is manifest from what has preceded, that the place allotted to *Onias* was not at *Heliopolis*, as has been pretended. It is called by *Josephus* and others

[19] Geogr. Sacr. pars prior. lib. 2. cap. 26.

χωρα Ονιυ; and its true situation is described in that passage where *Mithridates* marches from *Pelusium* to *Memphis.* [20] Before he could get to the last place, the *Jews* of *Onium*, οι την Ονιαν λεγομενην χωραν κατοικουντες, stopt him in his march. His rout was not through the land of *Egypt;* but, as we are told afterwards, το Δελτα περιελθων: so that *Onium* was exterior in respect to *Egypt:* which situation is agreeable to that which is allotted it both in the *Itinerary*, and by *Ptolemy.* I have shewn that the

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[20] *Jos.* Antiq. Jud. lib. 14. cap. 8. We find that the *Jews* at *Heliopolis* (the same as *Onium*) were so very numerous, that they withstood *Mithridates Pergamenus* at the head of his army, and disputed with him the passage into *Egypt:* διεκωλυον οι Ιυδαιοι Αιγυπτιοι, οι την Ονιυ λεγομενην χωραν κατοικουντες. Such was the state of the place, which was inhabited by the *Jews.* Let us turn to the other city of the same name. *Strabo* paid a visit to it, and speaks of its former splendor: but says that, when he saw it, it was quite ruinous and desolate: νυν μεν ουν εστι παντελως ἡ πολις. vol. 2. pag. 1158. He could not have said this, if it had been the place where the *Jews* lived, and were so numerous. He moreover mentions the antient temple at *Heliopolis*, and the apartments of the priests, and particularly those where *Plato* and *Eudoxus* studied; but speaks of the whole as little frequented. Some few priests remained; but of a lower denomination, who still sacrificed there, and performed the more servile offices: but the antient priesthood and college were no more. Could this possibly be the place where the *Jews* founded their temple? where the law of *Moses* was observed, and the *Jewish* rites celebrated? It is plain that there were two places of the same name; and that *Onium* was not the antient *Heliopolis.*

true name of it was *Onium;* which was so similar to the antient *On* or *Heliopolis*, that it began to obtain that name. This was caught at, and propagated industriously. Many of the *Jews* were very averse to the erecting this temple; and held it as much in abhorrence as that on mount *Gerizim*. For the sake of such the prophecy was appealed to; and, with a very slight alteration, made to speak a language to the purpose. And, to give the place a proper antiquity, they pretended it was called *Heliopolis* of old; inserting in the translation of the [21] *Seventy*, among the cities built by the *Israelites* for *Pharaoh*, "*On*, which is *Heliopolis*." Which name however it never received, till after it was

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[21] The translation of the *Seventy* is certainly of great service, and should be allowed its weight. But, as it ought not to be undervalued; so neither should it be over-rated, nor brought into competition with the original. In the preface to the *Vatican* copy, published at *Rome*, the editors speak of the first translators as inspired persons. *Constat enim eos Interpretes, natione quidem Judæos, doctos verò Græcè—Spiritu Sancto plenos, sacra Biblia interpretatos esse.* And again; *Septuaginta Interpretum editio—instinctu quodam divinitatis elaborata.—Septuaginta Interpretes Spiritûs Sancti auctoritatem secuti ediderunt.* After all, there are many gross mistakes in it: and it not only varies sometimes from the *Hebrew*, but from itself; the interpretation being neither uniform nor true. This translation is supposed to have been made in the reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus:* but it certainly was not all done at one time, nor by the same hand. See *Prideaux*'s Connection. part. II. book. I.

built; and then, through a mistake that they took advantage of. So that this prophecy was never thought of previous to its being founded; nor introduced to encourage the work: but was made use of by *Onias* and his friends to establish the temple when finished, and to sanctify their proceeding.

That it was generally called *Onium*, may be likewise gathered from the strange mistake that took its rise from this name. For the *Greeks* in *Egypt*, hearing that the chief temple of the *Jews* was called Ονιον, *Onium*; and, as I have often observed, catching at every similitude of sound; imagined that this name was derived from the *Greek* word ονος; which in their language is well known to signify a particular animal. They therefore concluded that they had found out the secret object of the *Jewish* worship; and that all their devotion was paid to an [22] ass. This notion was soon propagated: and it was asserted, that in the vestibule of every *Jewish* temple there was an ass's head. Hence those satyrical verses;

[23] *jura, verpe, per Ancharium; i. e. asinum.*

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[22] *Tanaq. Fabr.* Epist. Criticæ. *Spanheim* is of a contrary opinion; and *Hasæus* in his treatise *de Onolatreiâ*, which I have not seen.

[23] *Mart.* lib. 11. Epigr. 95.

and in another place,

[24] *Judæus licet et porcinum numen adoret,*
Et Cilli summas devocet auriculas; sc. asini.

Nor did this ridicule stop here: it reached even the *Christians;* between whom and the *Jews* there was a wide disparity: but the *Greeks* did not trouble themselves to find out the difference. Hence arose that idle and blasphemous notion about the God of the *Christians*, *Deus Christianorum Onocheirites;* and the title that was given them of *Asinarii.* They likewise had the credit, as well as the *Jews*, of having an ass's head in their churches for an object of their worship. All which took its rise from the name of this temple, and the mistakes in consequence of it.

As this temple was built in imitation of that at *Jerusalem*, so it survived it not long: and there seems to have been something extraordinary in its catastrophe. Our blessed Saviour and the prophets had foretold the ruin of the *Jewish* nation, and the destruction of their temple at *Jerusalem:* which temple *Vespasian* had been very desirous of saving, but could not prevent its being destroyed. For it was the determined will of God, which he had de-

[24] *Petron.* Fragmenta.

clared by the prophets, that the daily sacrifice should cease, and the *Jewish* polity be no more. If the temple of *Onias* had remained, this decree might in some measure have appeared to have been evaded; and the prophecies would have been rendered less complete. It was situated so remotely; and was so obscure, that one would have imagined it could not have alarmed the jealousy of the *Romans*, nor have deserved their notice. *Vespasian*, however, was moved to destroy it; and, hearing of some disturbances among the *Jews*, gave orders for its [25] demolition: acting herein as an instrument of God's vengeance, to the consummation of these prophecies upon the *Jewish* nation; which were thus far fully completed.

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[25] Δεισας [Καισαρ] μη παλιν εις ἱν αθροοι συλλεγωσι—προσεταξε τω Λυπω τον εν τη Ονιω καλουμενη νεων καθελειν των Ιουδαιων. *Jos.* Bell. Jud. lib. 7. cap. 10. Some defer the destruction of it to the reign of *Trajan*. The temple upon mount *Gerizim* had been destroyed long before; probably when *Hyrcanus* took *Samaria*. See *Jos.* Bell. Jud. lib. 1. cap. 2.

OF THE

SHEPHERDS IN EGYPT,

AND THE

LAND OF GOSHEN.

MY endeavour has been, throughout this argument, to shew that there were no provinces of lower *Egypt* to the east of the *Nile;* which I have been obliged to prove by all possible means. As many of the antients speak of provinces in those parts; and all the moderns place the *Arabian* nomes there; without knowing that there were two cities of the same name; they have caused great confusion in the geography of *Egypt.* *Ptolemy* seems to speak only of one *Arabian* nome, *Phaccusa:* but, as others add to it both *Heliopolis* and *Bubastus;* and they are all three referred alike to that part of the world; I shall join them together. It is to be observed, that these are the only provinces that have been styled *Arabian.* It may therefore be asked, how they came to have this particular mark of distinction; to which at first sight they seem to have little pretension? There were many prefec-

tures downward upon the *Pelusiac* branch of the *Nile*, that were rather more advanced towards *Arabia:* and there were others above, that were really situated in that country, and yet not termed *Arabian.* Whence then came the provinces we are speaking of, above all others, to be thus denominated, and to be continually referred to *Arabia?* What could be the cause of this remarkable distinction? My answer is, that they were called so from the *Arabian* shepherds, who had formerly settled in these parts; and held them for many years. This leads me to a very intricate piece of history, which has employed the wit of some of the most learned men; and has never been happily discussed. And I shall think myself particularly fortunate, if I can clear it up to the satisfaction of the reader.

The *Arabian* nomes are nothing more than the land of *Goshen*, called by the *Seventy* Γεσεμ της Αραβιας. We are told by *Syncellus*[26] that *Egypt* had been in subjection to a threefold race of kings; who are termed the *Auritæ*, the *Mestræi*, and the *Egyptian. Syncellus* places the *Auritæ* first of the three, because he thought they were first in time. The *Mestræi* were undoubtedly the genuine descendants of *Mizraim*, who first gave name to the country: the traces of which are not yet[27] ef-

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[26] Chronograph. edit. Parisin. 1652. pag. 51.

[27] See the authors cited at pag. 49 of this Volume, note. 7.

faced; *Al Cahira*, and, indeed, the whole of *Egypt* being called *Mezré* at this day. The *Auritæ* were the *Arabian* shepherds, and their kings; who reigned here a considerable time, maintaining themselves by force; till, after many struggles, they were finally expelled by the natives. The original account of these people we have from *Manetho*; whose words I shall quote at large.

[28] Εγενετο βασιλευς ημιν, Τιμαος ονομα· επι τουτε, ουκ οιδ' οπως, ὁ Θεος ανετεπνευσεν, και παραδοξως εκ των προς ανατολην μερων, ανθρωποι το γενος ασημοι, καταθαρσησαντες επι την χωραν εστρατευσαν, και ραδιως αμαχητι ταυτην κατα κρατος ειλον. Και τους ηγεμονευσαντας εν αυτη χειρωσαμενοι, το λοιπον τας τε πολεις ωμως ενεπρησαν, και τα ιερα των Θεων κατεσκαψαν. Πασι δε τοις επιχωριοις εχθροτατα πως εχρησαντο, τους μεν σφαζοντες, των δε και τα τεκνα και γυναικας εις δουλειαν αγοντες. Περας δε και βασιλεα ενα εξ αυτων εποησαν, ω ονομα ην Σαλατις. Και ουτος εν τη Μεμφιδι κατεγινετος, την τε ανω και κατω χωραν δασμολογων, και φρουραν εν τοις επιτηδειοτατοις καταλειπων τοποις· μαλιστα δε και τα προς ανατολην ησφαλισατο μερη, προορωμενος, Ασσυριων, τοτε μειζον ισχυοντων, εσομενην επιθυμιαν της αυτης βασιλειας εφοδε. Ευρων δε εν νομῳ τῳ Σαϊτῃ πολιν επικαιροτατην, κειμενην μεν προς ανατολην τε Βουβαστιτε ποταμῳ, κεκλημενην δ' απο τινος αρχαιας Θεολογιας Αυαριν· ταυτην εκτισεν τε, και τοις τειχεσιν οχυρωτατην εποιησεν, ενοικισας αυτη και πληθος ὁπλιτων εις εικοσι και

[28] *Joseph.* Contra Apion. lib. 1. §. 14. edit. Havercamp.

τεσσαρας μυριαδας ανδρων προς φυλακην. Ενθαδε κατα θειαν ηρχετο, τα μεν σιτομετρων και μισθοφοριαν παρεχομενος, τα δε και ταις εξοπλισιαις προς φοβον των εξωθεν επιμελως γυμναζων. Αρξας δ' εννεακαιδεκα ετη τον βιον ετελευτησεν. Μετα τετον δε ἑτερος εβασιλευσεν τεσσαρα και τετ[ρ]ακοντα ετη, καλουμενος Βηων. Μεθ' ὁν αλλος Απαχνας, ἑξ και τριακοντα ετη και μηνας ἑπτα. Επειτα δε και Απωφις ἑν και ἑξηκοντα, και Ιανιας πεντηκοντα και μηνα ἑνα. Επι πασι δε και Ασσις εννεα και τεσσαρακοντα και μηνας δυο. Και ὡτοι μεν ἑξ εν αυτοις εγενηθησαν πρωτοι αρχοντες, πολεμουντες αει και ποθουντες μαλλον της Αιγυπτε ἑξαραι την ῥιζαν. Εκαλειτο δε το συμπαν αυτων εθνος ΥΚΣΩΣ, τουτο δε ἑστι βασιλεις ποιμενες· το γαρ ΥΚ καθ' ἱεραν γλωσσαν βασιλεα σημαινει· το δε ΣΩΣ ποιμην ἑστι και ποιμενες κατα την κοινην διαλεκτον, και ὡτω συντιθεμενον γινεται ΥΚΣΩΣ. Τινες δε λεγουσιν αυτους Αραβας ειναι.

" We had formerly a king named *Timaus:* in " whose reign, I know not why, but it pleased " God to visit us with a [29] blast of his displeasure: " when, on a sudden, there came upon this country " a large body of obscure people from the east; " and with great boldness invaded the land, and " took it without opposition. The chief of our " people they reduced to their obedience; and " then in a most cruel manner set fire to their " towns, and overturned their temples. Their be-

[29] 2 *Kings.* 19. v. 7. " Thus saith the Lord—Behold, I will send a blast upon him [*Sennacherib*]."

" haviour to the natives was very barbarous: for " they slaughtered the men, and made slaves of " their wives and children. At length they con- " stituted one of their body to be their king, " whose name was *Salatis*. He resided at *Mem-* " *phis;* holding all the upper and the lower *Egypt* " tributary, and having his garrisons in every place " of consequence. He took particular care to se- " cure every part to the east: as the *Assyrians* " were then very powerful; and he foresaw that " they would one time or other make an attempt " upon his kingdom. And having observed a city, " that lay particularly commodious in the nome of " *Saïs;* being situated to the east of the *Bubastite* " river; whose name was [30] *Avaris* (a name that " had some relation to the antient theology of the " nation): this city he built, and strengthened " with very strong walls; placing in it a garrison " of two hundred and forty thousand men. Hither " in summer he resorted; to receive the corn

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[30] Αναριν, *vel (quod idem est)* ΑΒαριν *in libris omnibus. Haver-camp's* note at pag. 445. *Avaris* and *Abaris* are to be sure convertible, and likely to be put one for the other, according to the *Grecian* manner of writing. But, in this passage, they must be carefully distinguished; being different places, and not of the same etymology: as I shall hereafter shew. *Avaris* was in *Delta*, and was a city and province: *Abaris* stood without in *Arabia*, and seems to have been only a large town. See Additional Remarks.

" which he exacted, and to pay his army: and at " the same time to make a shew of exercising and " disciplining his troops, by way of terror to other " nations. This king, after having reigned nine- " teen years, died: *Beon* succeeded him, who " reigned forty-four years: then *Apachnas*, thirty- " six years and seven months: after him *Apophis*, " sixty-one years: then *Ianias* fifty years and one " month: and, last of all, *Assis* forty-nine years " and two months. These six were the first of " their kings; who were always in a state of hos- " tility with the natives; and were endeavouring, " if possible, to root out the very name of an " *Egyptian*. The whole body of this people were " called *Huksos*, that is, *Royal Shepherds*. For " the first syllable, in the sacred dialect, signifies *a* " *king*; as the latter, in the popular language, " signifies *a shepherd*. These two compounded " together constitute the word *Huksos*. These " people are said to have been *Arabians*."

Josephus, having given us this extract from *Manetho*, dissents from him in the signification of the above name of the *Shepherd Kings*; and deduces it from an etymology more agreeable to his own [21] opinion. He then proceeds to inform us farther

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[21] He supposes it to signify a captive: which, however, is less applicable to the *Israelites* than the other title, in the room of which it is substituted.

from *Manetho*, that the *Shepherds* maintained themselves in *Egypt* five hundred and eleven years. At last the people of upper *Egypt* rose in opposition to them; and under *Halisphragmuthosis* defeated them; and having beleaguered them in their strong hold [32] *Avaris*, after some time expelled them the country: which was effected under the influence of *Thummosis*, or *Tethmosis*, as he is called in another place, the son of the former king: that, upon their departure, they were afraid of going towards *Assyria;* and therefore betook themselves to the country called afterwards *Judea*, and built *Jerusalem*.

After this, there occurs at some interval a piece of history relating to another set of people, who were sojourners in *Egypt* in the reign of *Amenophis*. These were in absolute subjection to the prince of the country, and treated by him as slaves; because they were infected with the leprosy. As they increased in numbers to a great amount, he employed them in the stone-quarries that were on the east side of the *Nile*, in company with some of the *Egyptians*. It is said of this prince, that he longed much to be admitted to the presence of the gods, as *Orus*, a former king, had been. But it was told him that his wish would never be accom-

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[32] Καταχλισθηναι δ' εις τοπον αρουρων εχοντα μυριων την περιμετρον· Αυαριν ονομα τω τοπω. κ. τ. λ. *Jos.* contra Apion. lib. 1. §. 14.

plished, till he purged his land of the distempered people. He sent them therefore to the *Arabian* quarries: and, as they laboured under great inconveniencies in that place, upon a remonstrance made to him, he granted them for a retreat the city [33] *Abaris*, where the former *Shepherds* had resided, that now lay desolate. [34] Ἡσθεντα δε τον βασιλεα, παντας τους τα σωματα λελωβημενους εκ της Αιγυπτου συναγαγειν· γενεσθαι δε του πληθους μυριαδας οκτω· και τουτους εις τας λιθοτομιας τας εν τῳ προς ανατολην μερει του Νειλου εμβαλειν αυτον.—Των δε ταις λατομιαις ὡς χρονος ἱκανος διηλθεν ταλαιπωρουντων, αξιωθεις ὁ βασιλευς, ἱνα προς καταλυσιν αυτοις και σκεπην απομερισῃ, την τοτε των ποιμενων ερημωθεισαν πολιν, Αυαριν συνεχωρησεν. Εστι δ' ἡ πολις, κατα την Θεολογιαν ανωθεν, Τυφωνιος.

The whole quotation from *Manetho* is too long to be given at large: and it besides contains many confused circumstances, that are not necessary to be related here. Let it suffice, that this people " chose themselves a leader; one who was a priest " of *Heliopolis*, and whose name was *Osarsiph*. " He enjoined them to pay no regard to the gods " of the country, nor to the animals which were " held sacred by the *Egyptians;* but to sacrifice

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[33] It was the city *Abaris* which was given to them at this season, and for this purpose. Some MSS read Αυαριν; but the better have Αβαριν.

[34] *Josephus* contra Apion. lib. 1. §. 26.

"and feed indifferently: and not to have any con-
"nections out of their own community.—In short,
"this priest of *Heliopolis* was the founder of their
"republic, and their lawgiver: and after he had
"listed himself with this body of men, he changed
"his name to *Moses*." [35] Ὁι δε εις ταυτην [Αυαριν] εισελθοντες, και τον τοπον τουτον εις αποςασιν εχοντες, ἡγεμονα αὑτων λεγομενον τινα των Ἡλιοπολιτων ἱερεων Οσαρσιφον εςησαντο· και τουτῳ πειθαρχησοντες εν πασιν ὡρκομοτησαν. Ὁ δε πρωτον μεν αυτοις νομον εθετο, μητε προσκυνειν θεους, μητε των μαλιςα εν Αιγυπτῳ θεμιςευομενων ἱερων ζωων απεχεσθαι μηδενος, παντα τε θυειν και αναλουν· συναπτεσθαι δε μηδενι πλην των συνωμοσμενων.—Λεγεται δ' ὁτι την πολιτειαν και τους νόμους αυτοις καταβαλομενος ἱερευς, το γενος Ἡλιοπολιτης, ονομα Οσαρσιφ, απο του εν Ἡλιου πολει θεου Οσιρεως, ὡς μετεβη εις τουτο το γενος, μετετεθη τοὐνομα, και προσηγορευθη [36] Μωῦσης.

From hence we learn that there was a twofold race of people, who sojourned in *Egypt*: and, however their history may be in some respects confused, yet much light may be obtained from it upon a close examination. They were each of them esteemed *Shepherds*; as will be found upon farther

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[35] *Joseph.* contra Apion. lib. 1. §. 26.

[36] We see here the traces of the history both of *Joseph* and *Moses*; which are blended together: as they are by almost every writer in profane history who mentions them, or alludes to their transactions.

inquiry. The first *Shepherds* were lords and conquerors: the others were servants; and had the very city given them to inhabit, which the first had evacuated. These latter are manifestly a separate and distinct people: and, though they may have some circumstances blended and misplaced; yet, from the name of their leader and lawgiver, it is plain that they were *Israelites*. As to the first, they are supposed to have been *Arabians;* and are said to have come from the east. Indeed, every nation, that ever came out of *Asia* into *Egypt*, must ultimately come from the east: there being but one way into the country, which was by the *Isthmus* between the two seas. If this was the sense of *Manetho*, it was saying nothing. It was a circumstance common to every nation that way, which visited the land of *Ham*. His meaning was, that they came from a country situated eastward, in respect to that which they came to. They were undoubtedly the *Auritæ:* and the city they founded was *Auris*, called by the *Grecians* Αυαρις and sometimes Αβαρις *(Avaris* and *Abaris)* by an easy and natural inflection. The city *Avaris* is no other than the city[37] אור, *Ur* or *Aur*, which signifies

[37] The Αυαρις of *Tatian*, from אור. See §. 59. edit. Oxon. 1700. the same as the Ουρια of *Eupolemus*, and the Αουαρις of *Ptolemy Mendesius*.

light and fire; of which element the [38] *Auritæ* must have been worshippers, as all the *Arabians* were. The chief god was *Alorus:* supposed to be the *Hephæstus* of the *Greeks*, and the *Mulciber* or *Vulcan* of the *Latins*, and by some esteemed *Bacchus;* but answering nearly to their *Ouranus* and *Ourania*, which were derived from it. *Arrian* says that "the *Arabians* worshipped only two gods, "*Ouranus* and *Dionusus:*" [39] Αραβας δυο μονον τιμαν θεους, τον Ουρανον τε και τον Διονυσον. *Herodotus* speaks much to the same purpose; but calls these deities *Dionusus* and *Ourania:* [40] Διονυσον δε θεον μονον και την Ουρανιην ηγεονται ειναι:—ονομαζουσι δε τον μεν Διονυσον, Ουροταλτ· την δε Ουρανιην, Αλιλατ: that "they called "the first of these *Ourotalt*, and the latter *Alilat*." I wonder that [41] *Bochart* and other learned men should be at all puzzled about the name *Ourotalt:* for, though there is a redundancy of one letter, yet it is nothing else but אל אורת, *Al*[42] *Orath*, the

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[38] Various have been the opinions of the learned about this people. *Auritarum nomine intelliguntur Dii Semideique, qui tempus historicum præcessere. Marsham.* sec. VIII. And yet he supposes that they received their name from the city *Abaris*. *Perizonius*, vol. 1. pag. 24. allows only the gods to be the *Auritæ;* which is a very nice distinction of a point not to be distinguished.

[39] De Expedit. Alex. lib. 7.

[40] Lib. 3. cap. 8.

[41] Geogr. Sacr. pars prior. lib. 2. cap. 19.

[42] Instead of *Al Orath* or *Al Orat*, *Oratal*.

Alorus of the *Greek* writers misplaced. The mistake arose from *Herodotus*, or the person he copied from, not being used to the eastern way of writing from the right to the left: who has therefore been guilty of this little miscarriage in reducing the words to order. The other deity, *Alilat*, has ever been in vogue among the *Arabians*, whose name they introduced upon every occasion. It is mentioned by [43] *Constantine Porphyrogennetus*; as well as by *Euthymius Zygabenus*, and the author of the *Saracenica*, with an invocation of the goddess at large. The last of these calls it an impious and detestable address, which is recited in the following words; *Allah, Allah, Oua Coubar Allah*. It is moreover said that "*Oua* signifies "greater, and *Coubar* great; by which is meant "both *Venus* and the Moon:" [44] Εχει δε ἡ λεξις της μυσαρας αυτων και παναθεσθηλα προσευχης ὀυτως, Αλλα, Αλλα, Ουα Κυβαρ Αλλα. Ὁ μεν Αλλα ἑρμηνευεται Θεος, το δε Ουα μειζων, το δε Κυβαρ μεγαλη· ειτ' εν ἡ Σεληνη, και ἡ Αφροδιτη· Θεος. This is not expressed, nor interpreted quite truly: but I shall say more con-

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[43] Προσευχονται δε και εις το της Αφροδιτης ἀγρον, ὁ καλουσι Κυβαρ· και αναφωνουσιν εν τη προσευχη αυτων ὀυτως: Αλλα Ουα Κουβαρ· ὁ ἐστιν, ὁ Θεος ἡ Αφροδιτη. De Administr. Imp. cap. 14.

[44] *Anonym. Auctor de Saracenorum principe et historiâ, unà cum Euthymii Zygabeni Lib. Elench. Sectæ Ismaeliticæ*, pag. 70. *operâ Sylburg.* 1595.

cerning it hereafter. It was an invocation of so long standing among the *Arabians*, that *Mahomet* could not make them lay it aside; and therefore adopted it into his own religion: wisely admitting, what he could not hinder; but it was with some alteration; *Il Allah Allah, Mohammed Resul Allah:* "God is "great, and *Mahomet* is his prophet."

The true meaning of the above names is obscured by their being interpreted and explained by the deities of the *Greeks* and *Romans;* who strove to find a similitude between their own gods, and the gods of every country they came to: persuading themselves, that they were all the same under different [45] denominations. This was the case with respect to the gods of the *Germans* and *Gauls*, as well as those of *Syria* and *Egypt;* which they adopted for their own. And had they travelled to the *Ganges* or to *China*, it would have been all one: they would have done the same by *Wistnou* and *Ixora*, *Brama* and *Somonacodoma*, or by *Witzli-putzli* at *Mexico*. They presumed to have an acquaintance even with the JEHOVAH of the *Jews:* and [46] *Plutarch* assures

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[45] They adopted so many different deities, that there were no less than three hundred gods of the title of *Jupiter*. *Varro trecentos Joves (sive Jupiteres dicendum) introducit. Tertul.* Apolog. cap. 14.

[46] Συμμαχος, αρα, εφη, συ τον πατριωτην θεον, ω Λαμπρια, ευιον, ορσιγυναικα, μαινομεναις ανθεοντα τιμαισι, Διονυσον εγγραφεις, και υποποιεις τοις Εβραιων αποῤῥητοις; η τω οντι λογος εστι τις ὁ τουτον εκεινω τον

us, he was no other than *Bacchus*. [47] *Tacitus* mentions it as a received notion. Such was their vanity and ignorance. In the place before us they esteemed *Alorus* both as *Dionusus* and *Vulcan*: which is inconsistent. But if an antient *Chaldean* could have spoken in the affair, he would have disclaimed all resemblance or connection; and would have thought both himself and his deity injured by such a comparison. He was, doubtless, guilty of idolatry in worshipping the supreme Deity, the dispenser of light and every other blessing, under a resemblance; yet there are degrees even in idolatry. He was not so gross in his worship, or in his conceptions, as the *Greeks* and *Romans* were; who pretended to a partnership with him in his religion. His *Alorus* had no resemblance to the [48] god of grapes, nor to *Mulciber* the blacksmith. He would have deemed such a comparison an abomination. The superstitions of old were not uniform; nor were the gods of different nations the same. It is therefore wonderful that [49] *Christian* writers should run into the same

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αυτον αποφαινων; Ὁ δε Μοιραγενης ὑπολαβων, εα τουτον, ειπεν· εγω γαρ Αθηναιος ων αποκρινομαι σοι και λεγω, μηδενα αλλον ειναι. Sympos. lib. 4. probl. 5.

[47] Hist. lib. 5.

[48] The name of *Bacchus* came from them; but his base attributes were the produce of *Greece* and *Rome*.

[49] See *Hyde*, *Huetius*, *Bochart*, and even the great Sir *Isaac Newton*.

errors: copying the *Greeks* in their idle notions; and making inferences from a supposed resemblance and identity, which never existed.

The meaning of *Al Orus* is "the god of [50] fire;" as *El Allath* is "god the sun." The *Shepherds* were called *Auritæ* from the chief object of their worship: and their kings were styled priests of [51] *Alorus;* according to the *Greeks*, the priests of *Vulcan:* which title often occurs in the antient annals of *Egypt.* From these particulars we may infer that they came from *Babylonia*, a country that lay due east from *Egypt;* and which was the original seat of the genuine *Arabians*, and the true source whence their religion flowed. The two principal cities of that country were *Ur*, or, as it is otherwise written, *Aur*, and *Babylon.* In memory of which they built two of the same name in *Egypt.* The place of residence, where their kings held their court, was *Memphis:* but the provinces, that they were particularly seised of, were *Phaccusa* and *Heliopolis.* In all these places they introduced the *Tzeba Schamaim*, or *Zabian* worship, together with

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[50] *Diod. Sic.* lib. 1. pag. 8. *Herodot.* lib. 2. cap. 3.

[51] *Alorus* is originally a *Babylonish* god and hero. As a god it represents the sun, the supposed god of light and fire: when it betokens a man, it seems to refer both to *Chus* and *Nimbrod;* but more particularly to the latter, who was the first monarch upon earth, and the first deified hero.

the worship of fire. Hence we learn from *Herodotus*, that *Vulcan* was particularly honoured at *Heliopolis* and *Memphis*. Both these places they are said to have built: and to the latter they gave the name of *Ain Shems* or *Shemesh*, that is, "the fountain of the sun:" which the *Egyptians* seem to have pronounced *On*, and sometimes *Aven*. The temple was called *Beth-shemesh*: and they are both frequently alluded to by the prophets and sacred writers, together with the neighbouring province *Bubastus*. [52] "The young men of *Aven* and *Phi-beseth* shall fall by the sword: and these cities "shall go into captivity." [53] He [*Nebuchadnezzar*] "shall break also the images of *Beth-shemesh*, that "is in the land of *Egypt*; and the houses of the "gods of the *Egyptians* shall he burn with fire." These names given to the places, and the worship introduced there, bespeak them of *Arabian* original. And [54] *Pliny* tells us, that *Juba* in his history particularly maintained that *Heliopolis* was built by *Arabians*. *Juba tradit—Solis quoque oppidum, quod non procul Memphi in Ægypti situ diximus, Arabas conditores habere.* And [55] *Diodorus Siculus* alludes to the same circumstance, when he says, that *Ucho-*

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[52] *Ezek.* 30. v. 17.

[53] *Jerem.* 43. v. 13.

[54] Nat. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 29.

[55] Lib. 1. pag. 32.

reus, or the prince *Orus*, was the founder of *Memphis*: Ουχορευς ἐκτισε πολιν Μεμφιν, ἐπιφανεςατην των κατ' Αιγυπτον. For *Orus* is a name of *Chaldean* original; by which their chief deity was signified: as well as some of their kings, who assumed the name to themselves, or had it bestowed upon them by their subjects. The worship of *Orus* was brought into *Egypt* by the *Arabians*, and superadded to the religion of the country. And as the *Grecians* called the city [56] *Aur* in *Egypt Avaris* and *Aouaris*; so they liquidated and changed the name of *Orus*, whom they called *Aoueris*, by the same inflexion: whose history we have epitomized in [57] *Plutarch* in the same manner as I have represented. Τῃ μεν πρωτῃ Οσιριν γενεσθαι—τῃ δε δευτερᾳ τον Αρεηριν, ὁν Απολλωνα, ὁν και πρεσβυτερον Ὡρον ενιοι καλεσι.

The *Greeks* and *Romans* called these people *Ara-*

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[56] The city *Ur* in *Chaldea* is called Ουρια: Εν πολει της Βαζυλωνιας Καμαρινῃ, ἡν τινας λεγειν πολιν Ουρινην. *Eupolemus apud Euseb. Præp. Evang.* lib. 9. cap. 17. edit. Paris. 1628.

[57] *De Isid. et Osir.* Ειναι δε τον μεν Οσιριν ἐξ Ἡλιε και τον Αρεηριν. Ibid. Ενιοι δε φασι και τον Αρεηριν ὑυτω γεγονεναι, και καλεισθαι πρεσβυτερον Ὡρον ὑπ' Αιγυπτιων, Απολλωνα δε ὑπο Ἑλληνων. Ibid. It should be corrected from the above, and written Αεηριν. That *Aoueris* and *Orus* are no other than אור of the *Hebrews* is plain from *Manetho*; who calls him by that name, and says, that he was admitted to the sight of the gods, and that *Amenophis* desired the same privilege, θεων γενεσθαι θεατην ὡσπερ ΩΡ.—so it stood in the old copies. *Joseph.* contra Apion. lib. 1. cap. 26.

bians: but their true name was *Cushan* or [58] *Cuseans;* the same that they gave to the province where they settled. This is evident from the etymology of *Phacousa*, which is compounded of פרת, כושן *Phacut Cusan*, or the canal of *Cushan;* being called from the canal that it was bounded by, as many places in *Egypt* were, such as *Athribis*, *Cnoufbis*, *Bebesitis*, *Phithom*. Now *Cush* and *Cushan* in Scripture almost always relate to *Arabia.*

Some, indeed, have thought that *Ethiopia* is meant by *Cushan:* but [59] *Bochart* has proved past contradiction that it signifies *Arabia.* [60] "I saw the "tents of *Cushan* in affliction: and the curtains of "the land of *Madian* did tremble." Where the two places are put as ισοδυναμα: and what the land of *Madian* was, is well known. *Zipporah* the wife of *Moses*, is termed [61] *Cusitis;* and she was of *Midian.* But nothing can shew it more clearly than

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[58] The people here mentioned are spoken of under the names of *Arabians*, *Ethiopians*, *Cuseans*, *Cutheans*, men of *Cush* and *Cutha.*

There must have been two places of this name, one a village upon the canal, the other a city and capital of a nome, if *Ptolemy's* account be quite true, which last was situated in *Delta* at the extremity opposite to *Babylon.*

[59] Geogr. Sacr. pars prior. lib. 4. cap. 2.

[60] *Habbak.* 3. v. 7.

[61] *Numb.* 12. v. 1.

the *Psalmist* [62] "Behold *Philistia* and *Tyre*, with *Ethiopia*:" where the arrangement points out the nation alluded to. And, [63] "I will make the land of [64] *Egypt* utterly waste and desolate, from the tower "of *Syene* even unto the border of כוש, *Ethiopia*;" *A turri Syenes usque ad terminum Chus.* Where *Chus* must signify *Arabia*: for *Syene* stood upon the borders of *Ethiopia* proper; therefore that country cannot be meant here. There would be a great distance implied, and no interval. [64] Ἡ δε Συηνη και ἡ Ελεφαντινη, ἡ μεν επι των ὁρων της Αιθιοπιας, και της Αιγυπτε πολις, ἡ δ' εν τῳ Νειλῳ προκειμενη. It had therefore been rendered better *Arabia*; for that is here meant. However, there is not that difference in opinion, which *Bochart* imagines: for they that suppose *Chus* to signify *Ethiopia*, mean not *Ethiopia* proper; but *Arabia*. For many of the antients placed *Ethiopia* in *Arabia Felix*: others extended it to *Persia* and *India*: *Ethiopia* being with them in acceptation like *India* with others; a very lax and undefined term, that they used in a most unlimited manner; of which many [65] instances might be

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[62] *Psalm* 87. v. 4.

[63] *Ezek.* 29. v. 10.

[64] *Strab.* vol. 2. pag. 1171.

[65] *Philostratus* speaks of *Ethiopians* that were *Indians*: Αιθιοπες μεν ὑμων ενταυθα, γενος Ινδικον. De vit. Apollon. lib. 3. cap. 20. Αιθιοπες απο Ινδου ποταμου. Euseb. Chron. pag. 25.

produced. *Josephus* was aware of this error, and therefore makes a proper distinction; telling us, that, though some of the *Arabians* were injudiciously called [66] *Ethiopians*, yet their true name was *Cuseans*: [67] Αιθιοπες γαρ, ων ηρξε [Χυς], ετι και νυν υπο εαυτων τε και των εν τη Ασια παντων, Χυσαιοι· καλενται. Hence we find, that all those who were descended from *Chus*, and whom some people termed *Ethiopians*, were styled among themselves, and by all the people of *Asia*, *Cuseans*. *Chus* is called his self an *Ethiopian*, which cannot be construed a native of *Africa*: [68] Χυς Αιθιοψ· Χυς, εξ ου Αιθιοπες. The *Alex-*

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[66] See *Hyde* Relig. Vet. Pers. cap. 2. pag. 37. *Marsham* Canon Chron. Sect. XIII.

[67] Antiq. Jud. lib. 1. cap. 6.

[68] *Syncelli* Chronograph. pag. 47. edit. Paris. 1652. The *Arabians* are generally styled *Ethiopians* by *Procopius*. Χυς, εξ ου Αιθιοπες: Euseb. Chron. p. 11. edit. Scalig. Και προελθοσαν εκ μεν Χυς Χυσαιοι· Αιθιοπες ουτοι εισι. *Zonaræ* Annales. lib. 1. cap. 5. *Bochart* goes too far in supposing that *Cushan* refers always to *Arabia*. As the *Arabians* were in situation near to the land of *Canaan*, they were better known to the *Israelites* than the western *Ethiopians* could possibly be; who were however descended from *Chus*, as well as the others, and sometimes alluded to in Scripture, and called *Cuseans*. Therefore in these cases the sense of the text must direct us. "Can the *Cusean* change his skin, or the leopard "his spots?" *Jeremiah* 13. v. 23. This relates to the western *Ethiopians*. So does the passage in chap. 46. v. 9. of the same prophet: "Come up, ye horses; and rage, ye chariots; and let "the mighty men come forth: the *Ethiopians (Cush)*, and the

andrine Chronicle speaks to the same purpose: Εγεννηθη δε και αλλος εκ της φυλης τε Χαμ, Χυς ονοματι, ὁ Αιθιοψ, ὁςις εγεννησε τον Νεμβρωδ γιγαντα: The *Cuseans* then, however they may be sometimes styled *Ethiopians*, were no other than *Arabians*. And hence it was that the *Cusean* provinces in *Egypt* were thus interpreted. It is now very plain why *Phaccusa* or *Cushan*, together with the nome of *Heliopolis*, (of which it seems to have been a portion) were called *Arabian*: even from the *Arabians*, or, as they were originally styled, the *Cuseans*, who possessed them; and at their departure bequeathed their name to them. The *Greeks* therefore expressed themselves ill, when they first distinguished these nomes; which they should not have styled Νομοι της Αραβιας, but των Αραβων: not *Arabian* nomes, but nomes of the *Ara-*

" *Libyans*, that handle the shield; and the *Ludim*, that handle " and bend the bow." *Cush* is not here *Arabia* or the *Arabian*; but, as it is rendered, the *Ethiopian*. The *Ethiopians* were of the same family as the *Arabians*; and, like them, came from *Babylonia*; of which there are many traces. The first province of *Ethiopia* from *Egypt* is the land of *Sennaer* at this day. In short, the *Cuscans* were twofold, both called *Ethiopians*;

Οι μεν δυσσεμενες Υπερειονος, οι δ' ανιοντος.

The eastern were more generally termed *Arabians*. Of both these nations *Herodotus* gives a very distinct and satisfactory account, lib. 7. cap. 70. *Hyde* is therefore wrong, cap. 2. pag. 28: *Ex dictis constat quòd Cush semper in S. Bibliis sit Arabia.*

bians: which would have been a truer interpretation of *Tabir Cushan;* as they were not denominated from their situation, but from the nation that once possessed them.

These strangers therefore who settled in *Egypt* were no other than the *Cuseans;* and have been styled *Arabian* shepherds: for all the primitive *Arabians* were *nomades* or shepherds. This people becoming lords of the country, undoubtedly chose where seemed most eligible; and their profession would lead them to the best of the land for pasturage: in which respect *Goshen* had not its equal. For it was part of the πεδιον Αιγυπτε, the rich champain of *Egypt:* so that this circumstance among others would induce one to suppose that they settled here. This is confirmed by the worship which they established in these parts; the cities they built, and the name that they bequeathed to the province. In the *Mosaïc* account, the land of *Goshen* is repeatedly said to be in the land of *Egypt*, "in the "best of the land:" and yet the *Seventy* call it Γεσσεμ της Αραβιας: which could arise from no other reason but its being the land of *Cushan*, which was interpreted *Arabian:* for in [69] *Arabia* it was not

[69] Many have thought, that the place given to the children of *Israel* for their abode in *Egypt* was at *Heliopolis*, or in the vicinity of it: which was the situation of the *Cusean* nome, called by *Ptolemy Phaccusa*. But they were at a loss to determine where

situated. In our translation we call the place, where I suppose them to settle, *Goshen;* which may perhaps sound somewhat remote from what I suppose it to represent. The original is גשן, and may fairly be rendered *Gushan:* which amounts only to a different dialect; and, like *Coptis, Kuptis,* Αιγυπτος, *Ægyptus,* relates to one and the same place. This is plain from *Bar Bahlul,* the *Syriac* Lexicographer; who always expresses *Goshen* by גשן, *Cushan;* and interprets it *Cushatha,* or the land of the *Cuseans.* Oriental evidence must in this case be esteemed of consequence; and is a confirmation of what I maintain.

According to the above determination, the place where the children of *Israel* resided in *Egypt* was in the principal *Arabian* nome; at the extreme and highest part of lower *Egypt,* called *Cushan.* This agrees well with what is said of *Joseph;* that he [70] "made ready his chariot, and went UP to meet "*Israel* his father, to *Goshen:*" which term of *going up* must have its weight; and cannot be made

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either *Heliopolis* itself was, or its environs, which they continually misplaced. *Zonaras,* speaking of *Pharaoh's* admitting *Jacob* and his family into *Egypt,* says, that he placed them at *Heliopolis:* Και μαθων ετοιμους ειναι τους μετ' αυτου, συνεχωρησεν αυτοις την εν Ηλιου πολει κατοικησιν. vol. 1. cap. 11. According to the later division of the country, it might not improperly be esteemed to have been part of the *Heliopolitan* nome.

[70] *Gen.* 46. v. 29.

to agree with any other situation, that has been attributed to this land. And it is a circumstance not to be overlooked: for the sacred writer speaks always with meaning and precision. That the residence of *Pharaoh*, and the chief scene of all the wonderful transactions was in lower *Egypt*, may be inferred from many passages in Scripture. This part of the country, being very broad at its basis, and by degrees tapering towards a point, was supposed by [71] *Strabo* to be like the *Greek* letter Δ inverted. *Scylax Caryandensis* thought it resembled an ax or hatchet: [72] Εστι δε ἡ Αιγυπτος τοιαδε την ιδεαν ὁμοια πελεκει. But the natives esteemed it to be more like the section of a pear: on which account it was styled by them, and by the *Hebrews*, *Rab* and *Raab*; and by the *Arabians Rib* and *Airib*, *Tellus piriformis*: and this very part of the country, that now reaches from overagainst *Cairo* downwards towards *Rosetta*, is called [73] *Erib* at this day. The sacred writers, in speaking of the wonderful occurrences which their forefathers had been witnesses to in these parts, refer

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[71] Vol. 2. pag. 1133.

[72] Geogr. Vet. vol. 1. pag. 43.

[73] *Leo Africanus* calls it *Errif*. *Ab Alcairo Rosetum oram tocant Errifiam: ab Alcairo ad Bugiæ confinia Sakid—Tota Ægyptus enim sit fertilissima, Sakidica tamen provincia reliquas partes, omnis generis leguminum, animalium, pullorum, linique copiâ antecellit: Errifia fructibus et orizâ.* lib. 8. This is the πεδιον Αιγυπτου of *Herodotus*.

them sometimes to the land of *Ham* in general; but at other times they are more determinate; and speak of them as particularly transacted in *Raab* or lower *Egypt*. [74] "I will make mention of *Rahab* and *Babylon*." [75] "Thou hast broken *Rahab* in "pieces, as one that is slain: Thou hast scattered "thine enemies with thy strong arm." And *Isaiah* still more expressly; [76] "Awake, awake, put on "strength, O arm of the Lord;—Art thou not it "that hath cut [77] *Rahab*, and [78] wounded the Dra-"gon?" *i. e. Pharaoh*, who is often alluded to under that name. This may be learned from a similar passage in *Ezekiel*: [79] "Speak, and say, Thus saith "the Lord God; Behold, I am against thee, *Pha-"raoh* king of *Egypt*, the great dragon that lieth in "the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river

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[74] *Psalm* 87. v. 10.

[75] *Psalm* 89. v. 10.

[76] Chap. 51. v. 9.

[77] Among the *Punic* remains at *Malta* is a hill, which is still called *Gibel al Rahab*, for the same reason that the country of lower *Egypt* was so named; being of a conical or triangular figure, like the cowl of a monk's hood. *Gibel al Rahab sic dictus ratione et occasione figuræ, quæ ad instar cucullati cuicunque mare de subter transeunti apparere videtur. Abelæ* Malta. pag. 49. cap. 68. edit. Lat.

[78] In the *Vulgate*, *Numquid non Tu—vulnerasti Draconem?* "Thou didst divide the sea by thy strength: thou brakest the "heads of the dragons in the waters." *Psalm* 74. v. 13.

[79] Chap. 29. v. 3.

" is mine own, and I have made it myself. But I " will put hooks in thy jaws." But nothing can prove the situation of the *Israelites* more plainly than the words of *Moses*. I have mentioned before that lower *Egypt* differed from the upper; inasmuch as it was all a flat, but the upper had hills and declivities. It is observed by travellers that it scarce ever rains here: but this want is amply supplied by the waters of the *Nile;* which annually overflow, and render the country amazingly fruitful. These are circumstances that are peculiar to *Egypt*, and which are not observable in other regions. *Moses* therefore, to prevent any disappointment among the *Israelites* on account of the different soil and climate where they were going, tells them before hand what they were to expect. [80] " For the land whither " thou goest in to possess it is not as the land of " *Egypt*, from whence ye came out, where thou " sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as " a garden of herbs: But the land whither ye go to " possess it is a land of hills and valleys, and drink- " eth water of the rain of heaven." This description can relate only to that part of *Egypt* called *Delta;* for the other had hills and mountains, and springs of water. The soil of the lower was very little above the surface of the river: on which account in early times they were continually making

[80] *Deuteron.* 11. v. 10, 11.

artificial mounds (χωματα), on which they raised their cities. It was likewise of a soft, yielding nature; δωρον τε ποταμε, composed of the sediment of the *Nile;* so that a person might easily with his foot make a channel; and the water would in many places flow in, or rise up towards the surface. All these passages relate manifestly to lower *Egypt*, which was triangular, flat, and abounded with canals and rivers: and they afford strong evidence in favour of what I have been proving. The situation of the children of *Israel* at the vertex of the country agrees well, as I before mentioned, with the place of residence of *Joseph*, which must have been below: and it is therefore with great propriety said, that "he made ready his chariot, and went up to "meet *Israel* his father." It agrees likewise with the account given by [81] *Josephus;* who makes the general rendezvous of the children of *Israel* at their departure to have been at *Latopolis* or *Litopolis*. He calls it indeed *Letopolis:* but that was an inland city, to the west; far out of the way for people who were taking this journey: [82] Λητης πολις μεσογαιος. But he explains himself in such a manner, as not possibly to be mistaken. "They journeyed from a "city, that was then in ruins where *Babylon* was "afterwards built:" but *Babylon* was built upon

[81] Antiq. Jud. lib. 2. cap. 15.

[82] *Ptol.* Geogr. lib. 4.

the hill of the quarries, close by *Latopolis*, which is the city meant here: and so it should be read in *Josephus*; Την δε πορειαν εποιουντο κατα Λατοπολιν ερημον ουσαν εν τοις τοτε· Βαβυλων γαρ υστερον κτιζεται εκει. This *Latopolis* is the same that is mentioned by [83] *Strabo*, overagainst *Cercasoura*, and the province of *Cushan*. The next place that the *Israelites* came to was *Succoth*, or *Tabernacula*, called by the *Greeks* Σκηναι; which lay directly in the rout. The *Greeks* should rather have interpreted *Succoth* by Σηκοι, which more immediately expresses the meaning, and is probably derived from it. All these circumstances correspond marvellously to the establishment of what I have been endeavouring to prove.

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[83] *Litopolis*, or, as it is called in the *Itinerary*, *Latopolis*, was originally a town where the people who belonged to the quarries dwelt. *Babylon*, when it was rebuilt, was made use of for a garrison, and was close to *Latopolis*: so that they are mentioned as the same place. Βαβυλων φρουριον εμπορικον. *Strab.* Vol. 2. pag. 1160. *Latopolis* was at that part of *Egypt* where it was narrowest; at the junction of the upper and lower country, overagainst the apex of *Delta*. It was of so particular a situation, that people could not well come from any other part, but the province of *Cushan* or *Goshen*, to make it a place of rendezvous: it lay so much out of the way of other places. See also *Herodotus*, lib. 2. cap. 8. of the hill of *Arabia*. *Strabo* distinguishes between *Litopolis* and *Latopolis*. The former he places close by *Babylon*, as I have shewn: the latter he mentions, vol. 2. pag. 1171, in the vicinity of the city of *Crocodiles*, above four hundred miles higher, almost as far as *Syene*.

Here then was the land to which the children of *Israel* succeeded, after it had been abandoned by its former inhabitants: but at what interval is uncertain. It seems pretty plain, from the tenor of the Scripture, that they came into a vacant, unoccupied district. And, as it was the best of the land, there is no accounting for its being unoccupied, but by the secession of the *Cuseans*, whose property it had lately been. *Joseph*, when he instructs his brethren what answer they were to give to *Pharaoh*, when he should inquire about their occupation, lays this injunction upon them: [84] "Ye shall say, thy "servants trade hath been about cattle, from our "youth even until now, both we and also our fa-"thers: that ye may dwell in the land of *Goshen*; "for every shepherd is an abomination unto the "*Egyptians*." From whence *Le Clerc* very justly collects, that this land must have been in possession of shepherds or herdsmen before. *Qui enim colligere potuisset Josephus fratribus, arte editâ, eum tractum incolendum concessum iri, nisi*, &c. The inference he makes is good, that there must have been shepherds in those parts before; otherwise *Joseph* could not have foreseen that, upon telling their occupation, this land would necessarily be given to his brethren. But, that the shepherds were *Egyptians*, as he affirms, is unwarrantable to suppose:

[84] *Gen.* 46. v. 34.

and, as to the national custom that he alludes to it, is all matter of groundless surmise. Authority for it he has none: nor can any reason possibly be given to suppose that the *Egyptians* deserted the best of their [85] land. They were undoubtedly the *Arabian* shepherds, who were before in possession of it; and were called *Cushan* or *Cuseans*, from *Chus*, the founder of their race. They gave name to this part of the country, which was called from them *Cushan* and *Gushan;* by *Ptolemy Phaccusa*, Φακκυσα; which is supposed to have been the name both of the city and province. They deserted it at last, being expelled by the natives: and the land lay for some time desolate: which accounts for the words of *Joseph*, which cannot otherwise be explained. It likewise affords a satisfactory reason for the *Israelites* finding such easy access into the country; so as not only to dwell in it, but to have the land of *Goshen* given them for a possession, even the best of the land of *Egypt*. [86] "And *Israel* dwelt in the "land of *Egypt* in the country of *Goshen;* and they "had possessions therein."

It is supported strongly by the evidence of *Ma-*

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[85] The words of *Le Clerc* are these: *antea etiam eam regionem Pastoribus Ægyptiis attributam, qui sejuncti ab aliis vivebant. Quî enim colligere potuisset Josephus, fratribus, arte editâ, eum tractum concessum iri, nisi ex more gentis?*

[86] *Gen.* 47. v. 27.

netho; who tells us, that the second *Shepherds* succeeded to the places which had been deserted by the former: and mentions particularly that the city *Abaris*, which had been built by the first *Shepherd* king, was given to those of their body who were employed in the [87] quarries. The *Lithotomiæ* or quarries were close to the deserted city; which for that reason was called by the *Greeks* in after times *Lithopolis* or *Litopolis*.

Josephus, out of a desire to aggrandize his own nation, supposes that the *Shepherds* who bore rule in *Egypt* were his ancestors; and that hence arose the hatred that the *Egyptians* bore them: [88] ὁτι κατα την χωραν αυτων εδυναστευσαν ἡμων οἱ προγονοι. For this reason he makes no difference between the twofold race of shepherds, which *Manetho*, even as he quotes him, sufficiently distinguishes. The first were the *Cuseans* and their *Pastor* kings, who held the country in bondage: the others were the *Israelitish* shepherds; who succeeded to the first, and were themselves in a state of [89] slavery.

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[87] *Joseph.* contra Apion. lib. 1. §. 26.

[88] Ibid. §. 25.

[89] Many are misled by a mistake of *Manetho* in making the first *Shepherds* retire towards *Syria* and build *Jerusalem*: from whence they conclude they were *Israelites*. But this is a trifling circumstance to go upon, in opposition to express evidence to the contrary. And even here they argue upon a false principle; as if *Jerusalem* was built by the children of *Israel*. *Jebus* was a city of

We are informed by *Manetho*, that the *Shepherds* who came first into *Egypt* were called Ὑκσως, *Hycsos;* the first syllable, in the sacred dialect, signifying a lord or prince; and the latter, in the national common tongue, a shepherd. This is not satisfactory; though taken, as *Josephus* assures us, from *Manetho*. There are few instances of words compounded from two different languages. Besides, the etymology was probably to be looked for in the language of the people who were called so. *Eusebius* has given us this title somewhat different, and deduces it from one language only: [90] Εκαλειτο δε το συμπαν αυτων εθνος Ὑκσσως· τουτο δε εστι, βασιλεις ποιμενες. Το γαρ ΥΚ, κατ' ἱερὰν γλωσσαν, βασιλεα σημαινει· το δε ΟΥΣΣΩΣ, ποιμην εστι. "This whole nation had the title of *Hukoussos* "or *Royal Shepherds:* for the first syllable in the "sacred tongue signifies a prince, and the two last a "shepherd." *Eusebius* seems to have taken some pains, to give us a more genuine [91] reading than that

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the *Jebusites* before *Israel* came into *Canaan:* and it was never fully in their possession, till *Joab* took the strong hold of *Sion*. The *Israelites* therefore did not build it: nor did the *Shepherds*, I imagine, who were before them; though there is no proof of this, and it is unjust to make any inference either way.

[90] Præp. Evang. lib. 10. cap. 13. He makes the whole word to be a compound in the sacred language. From whence we may learn that the language so called by the *Egyptians* was the *Cuscan* or antient *Arabian;* the same as the *Chaldee*.

[91] He probably had corrected this passage from *Apion*, who, as well as *Manetho*, wrote the history of *Egypt*.

which is found in *Josephus:* and, from the light that he affords us, we may possibly arrive at the true meaning of the word, though contrary to his determination. The *Grecians* were very unfortunate in their etymologies; and bad copiers of every thing from the orientals: so much so, that there is scarce an instance of their representing things truly. [92] *Manetho* his self was an *Egyptian* grecised: and the mistake may be originally in him; as he was as little acquainted with the sacred language of his country as a foreigner; the knowledge of it being in his time lost. The *Cuseans* were certainly shepherds, and were generally termed so by the *Egyptians.* But this must not be esteemed their Gentile name: for they were denominated from their country, and distinguished by the name of their fathers. That name was *Cush* and *Cushan;* which the *Greeks* expressed by Χους and Χασος. This *Eusebius* has preserved; but has not transmitted the name entirely pure and unembarrassed. *Uc* or *Ouc* certainly signifies lord or prince, something great and noble.

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[92] How should they possibly be happy in their etymologies of foreign words, who go so wide of the mark even in their native language, when they undertake to define any thing? *Plato* in his *Cratylus* says that ανθρωπος is *quasi* αναθρων ἁ οπωπε, *contemplans quæ viderit:* ανδρα, παρα την ανω ῥοην· γυνη, *quasi* γονη, *fœtus:* ουρανος, παρα το ανω ὁραν· Θεον και Θεας, παρα το Θειειν, ὁπερ ἐστι τρεχειν. This was one of the brightest geniuses that ever *Greece* saw. See *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. lib. 11. cap. 6.

It is a *Babylonish* word; and was adopted by the *Egyptians*, and occurs often in the name of their kings. The original which *Josephus* copied was Ὑκκους, or, with the *Greek* termination, Ὑκκουσος; that is, the great *Cush*, or lord *Cusean*. It is true, Ὑκκουσος, or, as it had better be written, Ὑκχσος, relates to a people who were shepherds: but that profession is not necessarily nor originally included in the name. *Josephus* having said that Σως signified a shepherd, induced *Eusebius* to retain it, and to write the word Ὑκκουσως: a mistake that is easily remedied.

The *Egyptians* had several terms of honour, which they prefixed to the names of great personages: such as *Petah*, *Caen* or *Cohen*, and the title that we are speaking of, *Uc*, *Ouc*, or *Ouac*; for so it is often written. The first is to be found in *Petiphra*, *Potipherah*, *Petisonius*, *Petosiris*, *Petarbemis*, *Petubastes* the *Tanite*, and [93] *Petesuccus* builder of the labyrinth. *Petis*, called *Peteos* in *Homer*, the father of *Menestheus* the *Athenian*, is of the same original: [94] τον γαρ Πετην τον πατερα Με-

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[93] See *Plin.* Nat. Hist. lib. 36. cap. 13.

[94] *Diodor. Sic.* lib. 1. pag. 17. Επ τοις χρονοις δε τω Μωσεως εβασιλευσεν Ασσυριων Εριχθευς· Αιγυπτιων δε εβασιλευσε Πετισωνιος, ὁ και Φαραω. *Cedren.* Compend. Historiar. pag. 46. edit. Paris. 1647. See also pag. 41. *Chæremo*, as we learn from *Josephus*, says that the *Egyptians* called *Moses Tisithen*, and *Joseph Petseph*. Αιγυπτια

μεσθεως τε στρατευσαντος εις Τροιαν, φανερως Αιγυπτιον υπαρξαντα κ. τ. λ. *Cahen* likewise, or *Cohen*, signifies a prince or ruler; and also a priest. For both the antient *Cuseans* and the *Egyptians* are said to have chosen their kings from among the priests. It sometimes signifies a great officer: for *Ira* the *Jairite* is styled [95] *Cahen*. We read in *Artapanus*, as quoted by [96] *Eusebius*, that the *Caen of Heliopolis* had a daughter that married one *Canebro*: in which the history of *Joseph* is obscurely alluded to; who married *Asenath* the daughter of *Potifera* or *Petifra*, called by [97] *Eutychius* the *Caen of Heliopolis*. *Canebro* is כהן עברי, the *Hebrew* prince or ruler; [98] *Caen*, *Cohen*, *Con*, having in many languages that signification. *Sabacon* the *Ethiopian* means *Sabæ Rex*, "the *Arabian* king of *Saba*;" and is not properly the name of the person [99] mentioned. *Canoubis*, or, as it should be expressed, *Can-Ouph*, is "the lord

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δι αυτοις οναματα ειναι, τῳ μιν Μωϋσῃ Τισιθειν, τῳ δε Ιωσηπῳ, Πετισεφ. Contra Apion. lib. 1. §. 32. *Peteseph* is *Petah Oseph* or *Joseph*.

[95] 2 *Samuel* 20. v. 26. The same title is given to *Zabud* the son of *Nathan*. 1 *Kings* 4. v. 5.

[96] Hist. Synagog. pag. 230. edit. Scalig. Amstel. Janson. 1658.

[97] Annales. edit. Pocock. tom. 1. p. 87. *Gen.* 41. v. 45. כהן אן, the *Cahen* of *On*.

[98] *Chaan augustum nomen est regum Tartariæ appellativum. Kæmpfer.* Amœnitat. Exotic. pag. 136.

[99] In like manner *Conchares*, *Tarracon*, *Sarracon*, &c.

" *Ouph;*" of which I may say more hereafter. *Chiniladanus*, the name of a king of *Babylon*, is *Caen al Adon* or *Adonai*. *Thonos Concoleros*, whom *Africanus* specifies by his twofold titles, Θωνος Κογκολερος, ὁ και Ἑλληνιςι Σαρδαναπαλος is (like *Sabæ Con*) *Thonos Con Ouc Al Orus:* which last has been by inexperienced writers contracted to *Coleros*. *Thamas Couli*, the late conqueror of *Persia*, was distinguished by the same title, and called *Couli Chan:* which is still in use in great part of *India* and *Tartary*. The *German koning* is similar to it; and we seem to retain it in our word *king*, but more apparently in the feminine. *Maundevile*[100] calls the emperor of *China* the *Chane* of *Cathay*. He speaks of the *sege* or residence of the great *Chane:* and says, " the lordes " here han folke of certayn nombre, als they may " suffice: but the grete *Chane* hathe every day " folke at his costages and expences, als withouten " nombre." *Chingis Chan*, the celebrated *Tartar* emperor, called *Changius Chan* by *Hatho*, is interpreted *the king of kings:* for such is the purport of *Changis Chan;* answering very nearly to words of the same signification in [1] *English*.

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[100] Travels. pag. 257, 264.

[1] The plural inflexion is now lost in most *English* words: but three hundred years ago we should have written and pronounced *king-es king*, what is here expressed *Chingis* and *Changis Chan;* that is, Βασιλευς Βασιλεων. The inscription of this prince's seal is

The other term of honor mentioned by *Josephus* and *Eusebius*, which is most to the present purpose, is found prefixed to many names both of *Babylonish* and *Egyptian* original. *Chus*, the great founder of the *Cusean* race, is called *Oucchus*, *Ouachus*, *Evechus*; from whence came the *Iacchus* and *Bacchus* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. It is sometimes written *Ochus*, and compounded *Belochus*, a name assumed by several eastern princes. *Achoris*, *Achorus*, and *Uchoreus* the name of the person who built *Memphis*, is of the like composition; and is properly *Ouc Aur*, the great *Orus*, the prince of light, and the deity of fire. There were several kings in *Egypt* of the name of *Cheres*: some are styled *Acheres* or *Acherres*; which is "the mighty *Cheres*:" others are stiled *Conchares* and *Achencheres*; that is *Ouc Cahen Cheres*, "the "great lord and ruler *Cheres*." Of this many instances may be found in the *Alexandrine Chronicle*, as well as in *Eusebius*. *Acheres* and *Achencheres* is, according to the *Greek* acceptation, "the great "lord *Mars*:" but properly it is *arez*, a lion; from whence the ἀρης of the *Greeks* was derived.

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mentioned by *Johannes de Plano Carpini*; and, according to his translation, is this: *Dominus in cœlis, et Cuynch Chan super terram. Johan. de Plano Carpini.* cap. 8. He was in *Tartary* anno 1246, being sent thither by *Pope Innocent* IV. See also the Travels of *William de Rubruquis*, anno 1253. ch. 27.

[2] Αλκης μεν και ῥωμης συμβολον αυτοις ὁ λεων. It was a title first conferred on the third king of *Assyria*, of whom I shall treat hereafter. The *Egyptians*, who called *Ham*, *Cham*, pronounced *Arez*, *charez* and *cherez*: hence *Acchencherez*, or *Ouc-cahen-charez*. So *Hala*, *Habor*, *Haran* were at times pronounced *Chala*, *Chabor*, *Charan*. These titles were retained by the *Egyptians* even in later times. *Eudoxus*, who resided at *Heliopolis*, is said by [3] *Laertius* to have studied under *Iconuphy*, a priest of the country. Ικονεφυ was not, I apprehend, the name of the person, but of the deity that he was priest to; whose name and title, properly expressed, was [4] *Ouc Cahen Ouph*, "the mighty "prince *Ouph*;" or, as the *Greeks* would have called him, *Canouphis*. *Plutarch* mentions this person expressly by this name, and stiles him *Chonuphis*, [5] Χονεφις προφητης. And in another place,

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[2] *Clem. Alex.* Stromat. lib. 5. pag. 671. edit. Potter.

[3] Lib. 8.

[4] *Ouc* and *Ouac*, signifying something great and splendid, was not only admitted as a title, but by some supposed to have been a real name. Hence *Marbodæus*, in his poem upon stones and gems, mentions a king of *Arabia* so called: *Evax*, *Rex Arabum*, *fertur scripsisse Neroni.*

The *Arabian* name *Evax* is the same as *Ouac* differently pronounced. *Marbodæi poetæ veteris de lapidibus et gemmis carmen.* Colon. 1539.

[5] The priest that was applied to about the interpretation of the characters found on a tablet in *Alcmena*'s tomb was called

he tells us that he was of *Memphis:* [6] Ευδοξον μεν εν Χονεφεως φασι Μεμφιτε διακεσαι; and at the same time mentions that *Pythagoras* studied under *Oenuphis* of *Heliopolis.* Neither *Chonuphis* nor *Oenuphis* are properly the names of men; but of the god *Anubis,* to whom the priest was sacred, as well as the college at *Heliopolis,* where *Eudoxus* and *Pythagoras* [7] studied. There is a passage to this purpose in the same writer; [8] where he is endeavouring to shew that *Bacchus* and *Osiris* were the same deity. One reason, and that a plausible one, is that the same plant is sacred to both; the ivy of *Bacchus* being called in the *Egyptian* language *chenosiris:* which he interprets *the plant of Osiris.* But he makes a wrong reference of the terms of which the word consists; and does not give the right interpretation. The true reading is *Chan Osiris;* and, in the original, *Cahen* or *Cohen*

Chonuphis. This was about the time of *Agesilaus. Plutarch* de Genio Socratis. Vide Opera. vol. 2. pag. 578. edit. Xylandr.

[6] De Isid. et Osir.

[7] *Chonuphis* and *Oenuphis* are the same names differently written; answering to the *Anubis* of the *Romans,* and the *Canoubis* of the *Greeks.* Ἱστορειται δε Πυθαγορας μεν Σωγχηδι τω Αιγυπτιω αρχιερεφητη μαθητευσαι· Πλατων δε Σεχνεφιδι τω Ἡλιοπολιτη· Ευδοξος δε ὁ Κνιδιος Χονεφιδι τω και αυτω Αιγυπτιω. *Clem. Alexand.* Strom. lib. 1. pag. 356. edit. Potter.

[8] Ετι δε τον κιττον, ὁν Ἑλληνες τε καθιερουσι τω Διονυσω, και παρ' Αιγυπτιοις λεγεται χενοσιρις ονομαζεσθαι, σημαινοντος τε ονοματος, ὡς φασι, φυτον Οσιριδος. *Plut.* de Isid. et Osirid.

Sehor, the lord *Sehor* or *Osiris*. It is a name given to a [9]vegetable; as among us plants and flowers have names given them from great personages: but it does not originally signify a vegetable; being the title of the god it was consecrated to.

I have before mentioned the triumphal exclamation of the *Arabians* to the two deities which they worshipped, Αλλα, Αλλα, Ουα Κυβαρ Αλλα. It is found in *Constantine Porphyrogennetus;* but the passage is imperfect as he quotes it; and the right division of the two principal words as Ουαχ Ουβαρ: for, as Βιργιλιος is put for *Virgilius*, Σεβηρος for *Severus*, so is the word Ουβαρ for Ουαρ, being the same as אור, fire or light. There is good reason to think that *Jehovah*, the name of the God of *Israel*, underwent a like change, and was converted to Ιυβα, *Juba*, by the natives of *Africa*, especially the *Mauritanians*. They conferred it as a title of supreme honour upon their kings, whom they are said to have deified. [10]*Juba, Mauris volentibus, Deus*

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[9] The *Egyptians* gave the names of their gods to sundry plants and animals; and took them likewise themselves. This last circumstance is mentioned in *Lucian's* dialogue *Pro Imaginibus*. Εω γαρ τες Αιγυπτιους, ὁιπερ και διπσιδαιμονεστατοι εισι παντων, ὁμως τοις θειοις ονομασιν εις χορον επιχαιμενους· σχεδον γουν τα πλειστα αυτους εξ ιρανου εστιν. Hence they had the names of *Horapollo, Serapion, Hermapion, Chomphis, Manetho*, &c.

[10] *Minuc. Felicis* Octavius. pag. 25. edit. Ouzel.

est. [11] *Mauri manifestè Reges colunt; nec ullo velamento hoc nomen prætexunt.* The true reading then of the above passage is undoubtedly this; *Il Alla Alla, Ouac Oubar Alla;* that is, "god "the sun is god, and the great lord *Ouar*" (the same as *Orus* and *Ouranus*) "is god." The *Grecians* were persuaded that one of these was the planet *Venus* or the Moon: and [12] *Heliodorus* has translated this passage, and applied the latter part accordingly, making it a feminine deity; Ω Δεσποτα Ἡλιε, και Σεληνη Δεσποινα. They are the words with which *Hydaspes*, a king of the western *Ethiopians*, approaching the altar at *Meroe* to sacrifice, invokes the two deities of his country; and which would have been rendered more properly, Ω Δεσποτα Ἡλιε, και συ γ' Ουρανε Δεσποτα. *Il Alla Alla, Ouac Oubar Alla.*

That I am not mistaken, will appear from a similar passage in *Hesychius;* though it is somewhat depraved. אור, *Aur*, signifying light, was thought to be applicable to many of the celestial bodies, as I have shewn: on which account the *Greeks* interpreted the word differently. Among others, *Hesychius* informs us that the planet *Ju-*

[11] *Cyprian.* de Vanit. Gentium. See also *Lactant.* Apologet. cap. 24. edit. Cerdan. *Selden* de Diis Syris. Syntagm. 2. cap. 1. and *Ouzelii* Animadvers. ad Minuc. Fel. pag. 134.

[12] *Æthiopic.* lib. 10.

piter was called by the *Chaldeans* Μελοβοβαρ. Μελοβοβαρ, Διος αστηρ παρα Χαλδαιοις: which *Vossius* [13] alters to Μελεχ Βααλ. In the first word, or part of the word, he is certainly right: but in respect to the second, he is guilty of a bold and, at the same time, an unnecessary alteration. The text is right as it stands: and, if there be any thing seemingly uncommon, it arises from the different manner of describing the same word, אור; a circumstance that must happen, when there is a variety of transcribers from one tongue to another. Οβαρ, like Ουβαρ, Αβαρις, Αυαρις, &c. relates to light, and is of the same radix: on which account it is made a representation of *Venus*, *Jupiter*, and other planets. The original reading in *Hesychius* was Μελεχ (the same as Μιλεχ) [14] Οβαρ· Διος αστηρ παρα Χαλδαιοις:

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[13] De Orig. et Progr. Idololatriæ. lib. 2. cap. 33.

[14] In respect to the antient invocation of the *Arabians*, it may be worth while to attend to the different accounts of it. *Euthymius Zygabenus* says, that they worshipped the morning star, which they called *Chabar* or great: ειδωλολατρουν, προσκυνουντες τω ωσφορω αστρω, και τη Αφροδιτη, ην δη και Χαβαρ τη ιδιαν γλωττη· δηλοι δε η λεξις αυτη την μεγαλην. pag. 1. edit. *Sylburg.* 1593. We learn from the author of the *Saracenica* that *Allah Allah* signifies God, that *Oua* is greater and *Coubar* great; that is, the Moon and *Venus*: Αλλα, Αλλα, ουα κεβαρ Αλλα. Και το μεν Αλλα, Αλλα, ερμηνευεται ο Θεος, ο Θεος· το δε ουα, μειζων· το δε Κεβαρ, μεγαλη, ητοι Σεληνη και Αφροδιτη. pag. 70. In the *Catechesis Saracenica, sive Saracenismi Anathematizatio*, it is described in this manner. Αναθεματιζω τους τη πρωινη προσκυνουντας αστρω, τουτ

that is, "the lord or prince of light is a name "given by the *Chaldeans* to the planet *Jupiter*." There is little difficulty in the passage; yet it has been the cause of much perplexity [15].

It is apparent, from what has been said, that what is termed *Ouc Oubar* by one author, is expressed *Melech*, "the lord or prince" by another: whence we may arrive at the true meaning of this

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τῳ ἑωσφορῳ και τῃ Αφροδιτῃ, ἣν κατα την Αραβων γλωσσαν Χαβαρ ονομαζουσι, τουτ' εστι, μεγαλην. pag. 85. "I hold accursed all those "who pay any adoration to the star of the dawn or morning, "and to the goddess *Venus*, whom in the *Arabian* tongue they "call *Chabar*, that is, great." So likewise says *Cedrenus*. *Constantinus Porphyrogennetus* supposes in like manner that the planet *Venus* was worshipped under the same name of *Choubar*; but makes *oua* a connecting particle only. Προσευχονται δε και εις το της Αφροδιτης αστρον, ὁ καλουσι Κουβαρ·—το δε ουα αντι του και συνδεσμου τιθεασι. De Administ. Imp. cap. 14. There being such a word as *Chobar*, which signified great, these writers were led to imagine that it was necessarily the true reading here. But they did not consider the redundancy that ensued from two words of the same signification being joined together in so small a period. *Constantine Porph.* tried to rid himself of this inconvenience, by making the first a copulative: but that was contradicting the interpretation given by every person who had treated of the subject; and at the same time did not make sense of it. In short, Ουκ or Ουακ Ουβαρ is the same in acceptation as the Μελεχ Οβαρ of *Hesychius*: and the true reading and interpretation may be from thence confirmed. Ουκ Ουβαρ, "the great *Ouranus* or *Alorus*."

[15] See *Selden* de Diis Syris; Syntagm. 1. cap. 16. and the readings quoted by the learned *Joh. Albertus* upon this word, in his edition of *Hesychius*.

title of honour, though it be sometimes differently written. The term then Ὑχουσσως, which should have been Ὑχχουσσος or Ουχχουσσος, the same in analogy as *Uchorus*, signifies the lord *Cusean*: and it might easily have been mistaken for a shepherd. For, as the *Egyptians* hated the memory of the sons of *Chus*, who were of that profession; it was natural for them to call every shepherd a *Cusean*: so that a *Cusean* and a shepherd might have been taken for synonymous terms: but the true meaning is as I have represented it.

I hope I have given a satisfactory account of the *Arabian Shepherds*, who came from *Babylonia* and settled in *Egypt*; where they introduced the worship of their god *Alorus*, and whose kings were the original priests of *Vulcan*. It has always been esteemed a dark and abstruse subject: yet many evidences of this affair may be farther obtained upon a diligent inquiry, as they lie here and there scattered in the vast field of history; where the *Cuseans* are alluded to under the names of *Assyrians*, *Ethiopians*, *Chaldeans*. By this means the place they originally came from is sufficiently pointed out; though the accounts are sometimes intermixed with circumstances foreign to their story. *Eustathius* has this remarkable passage about antient *Egypt*. [16] Εκληθη δε ποτε, κατα την ἱστοριαν, ἡ τοιαυτη χωρα και

[16] Schol. in Dionys. Perieg. ad v. 232.

Αὐρια, και Ποταμια, και Αιθιοπια, δια τους εκει Αιθιοπας· περι ὡν πολλοι των παλαιων ἱστορησι. The true meaning and interpretation of this may be explained in the following manner. "This antient kingdom was "called of old *Aëria:*" which name it received, not, as the *Scholiast* on [17]*Apollonius* surmises, παρα το μιλαιναν ειναι την γην; which is a vulgar error: but from the city *Auris* and the *Auritæ*, who gave it the name *Auria*, changed by the *Greeks* to Αιρια. It was called "the river country," because it was all acquired soil, and the gift of the river; [18] επικτητος τε γη, και δωρον τε ποταμε. Lastly, "it was called "*Ethiopia*" from the *Cuseans*, who were called *Ethiopians:* the history of which people was, according to *Eustathius*, very antient. That the land of *Egypt* was not called *Aëria* from its colour is, I think, plain from the very passage that the *Scholiast* alludes to:

[19] Και ποταμος Τριτων καλλιῤῥοος, ᾧ ὑπο πασα
Αρδεται Ἠειρη:

where the last word is a proper name, and cannot be interpreted μιλαινη; as it would not be sense or grammar. It was, we find, an antient and almost

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[17] Ad lib. 1. v. 580.

[18] *Herodot.* lib. 2. cap. 5.

[19] *Apollon. Rhod.* Argonautic. lib. 4. v. 269.

original name; and mentioned as coeval with that of *Ethiopia* or *Cush*: and an early name of *Egypt* must be almost prior to *Greece* and its language; at least, it could not be borrowed from it. It was one of the names, περι ων πολλοι των παλαιων ιστορουσι, "mentioned in the antient histories of the "country:" its meaning must not be looked for in *Greece*. The *Greek* writers thought *Aur* to be the same as αηρ; and thence formed αιρια, through ignorance of the true meaning of the word. The same mistake prevailed among the *Romans*. Hence arose the error of [20] *Julius Firmicus*; who, in speaking of the antient *Chaldeans* and some of the *Africans*, says that, "of all the elements, they "paid the greatest deference to the air:" *Assyrii et pars Afrorum aërem ducatum habere elementorum volunt*: wherein he was misled by the sound. It was not the air (*Aër* or Αηρ), but אור, *Aur*, fire, quite a different element, that was the principal object of their worship. The people whom *Eustathius* alludes to under the name of *Ethiopians*, *Tacitus* mentions as *Assyrians*. [21] *Sunt qui tradant Assyrios convenas, indigum agrorum populum, parte Ægypti potitos, ac mox proprias urbes Hebræasque terras et propiora Syriæ coluisse.* *Eusebius* calls them, as *Eustathius* has done, *Ethi-*

[20] De Errore Prof. Relig. pag. 5. edit. Argent. 1562.

[21] *Tacit.* Hist. lib. 5. cap. 2. *Marsham.* sec. XIII. pag. 335.

opians (a name I have shewn the *Cuseans* to be often denominated by); and says they came from the *Indus*, and took up their habitation in *Egypt*: [22] Αιθιοπες απο [23] Ινδε ποταμε αναβαντες προς τη Αιγυπτω ωκησαν. There is a passage of the same author as translated by St. *Jerome* which is very short, yet contains an epitome of all I have been saying. [24] *Sub Acherre in Ægypto regnavit Telegonus, Oris Pasteris filius, septimus ab Inacho. Telegonus* is here put as a proper name of the prince who reigned. But it is not so: it is a *Greek* compound; and means only an alien, one born in another country, and that came from a great distance. This being settled, the purport of the history is to this effect. "When *Acherres* was king "in *Egypt*, there likewise reigned there a foreign "prince, who was descended from *Orus*, and was "of the shepherd race:" which *Orus* or *Alorus* was, we know, originally of *Babylonia*. So that the whole of this short account relates to the *Cuseans*. But it is said at the close that this foreigner was in descent the seventh from *Inachus*. This seems to be an interesting part of the story, which is here obscured. What connection can a son of

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[22] *Eusebii* Chron. pag. 25. edit. Scalig.

[23] By the *Indus* they mean the east, or a place towards the east.

[24] *Eusb.* Chron. Hieron. Interpr. pag. 14. edit. Scalig.

Orus have with a king of *Argos?* What relationship could possibly subsist between them? Carry the antiquity of *Argos* as high as it will possibly bear; and make *Inachus*, if ever there was such a man, contemporary with *Abraham:* yet the arrival of the *Shepherds* in *Egypt*, which is here alluded to, must have been prior to it: at least we may venture to affirm that it could not be seven generations [25] later. But there is otherwise no correspondence between the terms: nor can they possibly relate to one another. The original history, of which the above is a bad copy, I imagine was this. *Sub Acherre in Ægyptum se recepit, et partem regionis occupavit Rex alienigena Pastor; ab Oro Babylonio ortus, et septimus a Noacho.* This last word had been probably transposed to *Onacho;* from whence the *Greeks* altered it still farther, and

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[25] Ιωσηπος, και Ιυγος, Κλημης ὁ ἱερος γραμματευς, Τατιανος τε, και Αφρικανος συνομολογουσι κατα Ινάχον γεγενθαι Μωσεα. *Syncellus.* pag. 121. edit. Paris. 1652. Ὁ δε πρωτος Αργειων ἡγειται [Ινάχος] κατα τον πεμπτον μετα Σεμιραμιν Ασσυριων βασιλεα, ὁν και ὁ ὑστερον ἑτεσιν αυτης τε και Μωσεως. *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. lib. 10. cap. 9. The king who reigned after the expulsion of the first *Shepherds* was but equal in time with *Inachus:* how could a person that preceded some centuries be the seventh from him? *Amosis* laid the city *Auris* in ruins: κατισκαψε δε την Αθυριαν (Αουριαν) Αμωσις, κατα τον Αργειον γενομενος Ινάχον. *Apion* apud Clement. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. pag. 320. edit. Potter. Ὁ δε Αμωσις ἐγενετο κατ' Ινάχον βασιλεα. *Ptol. Mendes.* apud Tatianum. §. 59. edit. Oxon. 1700. See *Theophilus* ad Autolycum. lib. 3.

reduced it to a name they were acquainted with. If this be, as I imagine, the true reading, it makes the migration of the *Shepherds* to be about the time of *Serug* or *Nahor*. What is extraordinary, this is the very time when it is supposed by that very great chronologist archbishop [26] *Usher* to have happened: who refers it to the year of the world 1920, according to the *Hebrew* computation; in the hundred and first year of the life of *Serug* the seventh from *Noah;* and in the forty-second of *Terah*, eighty-eight years before the birth of *Abraham*. But this is a degree of exactness that I do not pretend to arrive at. Let it suffice, that near this period I imagine this event to have happened.

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[26] A. M. 1920. *Ex vicinâ Arabiâ irrumpens gens eorum quos* Hyc-sos, *id est*, Reges Pastores, *Ægyptii vocabant, Memphim ceperunt*, &c. *Usserii* Annales. pag. 3. edit. Paris. 1673. Bishop *Cumberland* supposes that the *Shepherds* invaded *Egypt* A. M. 1937; in the time of the same patriarchs, according to the *Hebrew* chronology. Remarks on Sanchon. pag. 170.

OF SOME

EVIDENCES STILL REMAINING,

WHICH ILLUSTRATE

THESE EARLY OCCURRENCES.

THE lower part of *Egypt* being annually overflowed, must have been liable to some alteration in a long course of years. Among other changes that it has undergone, it has suffered some in respect to its streams and canals. One of the principal of these, if not the very chief arm of the *Nile*, was the *Canobic*, or great channel; which is in many places dry, except at the time of the inundation: by this means, all the interamnian country which we have been speaking of, the nome of *Cushan* and part of the *Heliopolitan* province, is joined to the firm land, and constitutes a portion of *Libya*. The *Nile*, that was first divided at *Cercasora* between *Babylon* and the pyramids, is not separated till you come eighteen miles lower: so that the extreme part of *Delta* is now formed by some broken land, that probably belonged to the inferior part of the

antient *Heliopolitan* nome. By this means the extent of lower *Egypt* is in some degree abridged.

It may seem wonderful, if, after an interval of so many ages, and after such alterations, any traces should now remain of those early transactions that we have been speaking of. Yet I think some evidences may still be found amid the ruins of this antient kingdom. [27] *Marcellinus* observes that, though the *Grecians*, and particularly *Seleucus Nicator*, rebuilt many cities in *Asia*, and arbitrarily imposed names taken from their own language and country; yet the antient and original names given by the first founders of those places, and which were in the *Assyrian* tongue, were never intirely effaced. The same observation will hold good in respect to many places in *Egypt*. In a province, that seems to have been formerly part of the *Heliopolitan* nome, is a village at this day called *Cofru Cossin*, or "village of *Cossin*:" which, from its situation and the similitude of its name, I should think had a reference to the antient land of *Goshen*. The temple at *Heliopolis* was called *Beth-shemesh*

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[27] *Nicator Seleucus—abusus multitudine hominum, quam tranquillis in rebus diutiùs rexit, ex agrestibus habitaculis urbes construxit, multis opibus firmas et viribus: quarum ad præsens pleræque licet Græcis nominibus appellentur, quæ iisdem ad arbitrium imposita sunt conditoris, primogenia tamen nomina non amittunt, quæ eis Assyriâ linguâ institutores veteres indiderunt.* lib. 14. cap. 8.

or "house of the sun;" and *Ain-shems*, or *shemesh*, the fountain of the same. In this district there is a place remaining, called *Beer Shems*; which is of the same purport: it signifies "the "well of the sun;" and is a lasting memorial of the antient religion of the place. I have mentioned that the *Arabian* nome was so denominated from *Cushan*, which was the same as *Goshen*. The *Seventy* calls this *Gessem* and *Gesem*; *Artapanus* [28] Κισσα and Καισα: and it is called by St. *Jerome* [29] *Terra Gesen*: where each writer denominates the place by the name that it went by in his own time. I make no doubt, but in the town of [30] *Geeza* we see the remains of the antient *Gesen* and *Goshen*; as it has been at different times expressed. This may be proved from *Herodotus*. I have shewn that *Goshen* was the province of *Cushan*, and had a city of the same name: and that this province

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[28] Πρωτον μεν την Κισσαν ωικοδομησαι. Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. cap. 27. Μετα δε ταυτα παραγινεσθαι τον τε πατερα και τους αδελφους νομιζοντας πολλην υπαρξιν, και κατοικισθηναι εν τη πολει Καισαν. Ibid. lib. 9. cap. 23. *Constantine Manasses* calls it *Gosem*: Εν γη Γοσεμ οικιζεται, χωρα της Αραβιας. pag 40. edit. Meurs.

[29] Vol. 1. pag. 49. edit. Benedict. Paris. 1693. In the book of *Judith* of the *Vulgate* translation chap. 1. v. 9. it is called *Jesse*.

[30] It is called *Gizéy* by *Vansleb*, *Gize* by Dr. *Pocock*, *Geeza* by *Shaw*, *Chisi* by *Egmont* and *Heyman*; and is the *Algize* of the *Nubian* geographer.

and city were the uppermost in lower *Egypt*, where the *Nile* divided. In this very nome *Herodotus* mentions a principal city, called by him *Cercasorum*, but by *Strabo Cercasoura*: which has undoubtedly suffered some change in its orthography and pronunciation; yet it is not so far sophisticated, but that its true etymology may be arrived at. The original name was *Caer Cush Aur*, "the "*Arabian* city *Aur*:" the last term was the true name of the place, which was the antient city of *Orus*: the other, *Carcusha*, as well as *Phaccusa* (by which it is called by *Ptolemy*) being accidental terms, and gentile marks of distinction; the one given to distinguish its inhabitants, the other to denote its situation. *Carcusa* is therefore no more than the *Cusean* city, as *Carour* is the city of *Ur* or fire, by which it was sometimes called. *Car* or *Caer*, קר, *Kir*, in most of the oriental languages signifies a city or fortress; as appears in *Carchemish*, *Carthaida*, *Carteia*, *Carnaim*: and, among the *Britons* of *Phenician* extraction, in *Carliste*, *Caerdiff*, *Caerphilly*, *Caernarvon*, and *Caer-uriah* in *Cornwall*. *Herodotus* is very particular in his description of *Cercasorum*, which he mentions as situated at the very extreme point of *Delta*; [31] παρα το οξυ τε Δελτα, και παρα Κερκασωρον πολιν. And in another place he describes it still more ex-

[31] Lib. 2. cap. 97.

actly, by saying that it was at the point where the *Nile* was first divided; [32] μεχρι Κερκασωρα πολιος, κατ' ἣν σχιζεται ὁ Νειλος, ες το Πηλουσιον ῥεων και ες Κανωβον. This is the exact situation of *Geeza;* which stands overagainst the pyramids (that are called from thence the pyramids of [33] *Geeza)* at the extreme part of *Delta*, in the antient *Cusean* province, where the *Nile* was of old divided into its two principal streams. If then there was no similitude of sound remaining, and the name had been totally changed or obliterated; yet the identity of the two places might be indisputably ascertained.

It is true, the town of *Geeza*, which I suppose to be situated at the extremity of an island, is by later writers mentioned as upon the western bank of the *Nile;* the *Canobic* branch, which once separated it from *Lybia*, being much diminished, and sometimes dried up. But [34] Dr. *Pocock* still places it in an island; and at the vertex, as it stood of old. Whether this be the exact truth, I do not know; as it does not appear like an island in the account of that curious traveller [35] *Norden*. But it is a point

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[32] Lib. 2. cap. 15.

[33] "Chi vuol videre le Piramidi, bisogna che passi il fiume, "et vada in un burgo, che gia fù Citta rimpetto al Cairo vec- "chio, hoggi nomato Geza." Viaggi di Bremond. In Roma; 1679.

[34] Travels. vol. 1. plate 7.

[35] Voyage d'Egypte et de Nubie par *F. Louis Norden*. Fol. vol. 1. Planche 17.

of no great consequence: for while the pyramids remain on one side, and the hill of *Arabia* on the other, whatever lay in a [36] line with these may easily be known. They are sure and lasting landmarks; and nearly between these was the apex of lower *Egypt*, and the city *Cercasorum*. So that, if not only the *Canobic* branch, but the *Nile* itself was to fail, yet the antient situation of the places, which I have been speaking of, might by this line of direction be made out. The great *Æstuary*, between the *Isle of Thanet* [37] and the main land, is in many places reduced to a ditch: yet not only the island, but the towns upon it, together with those that they correspond to of antient date, are known and described: nor has any obscurity ensued.

I think then, we may rest satisfied that the province of *Cushan* was the land of *Goshen;* and that the chief city in that land was the *Carcusha* of the antients, the *Cæsa* of *Artapanus*, and the *Geeza* of the moderns. *Cercasorum* or *Cercasoura* was called *Car Cush Aur*, the city *Ur* of the *Arabians;* just as the sister city was called קר אור כשדים *Car Aur Casdim*, the city *Ur* of the *Chaldees*. *Ptolemy* indeed calls *Phaccusa* the metropolis of the *Arabian* nome: but *Strabo*, who is in this point very

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[36] See *Pocock*'s large Map of *Egypt*, which is far preferable to the maps of *Norden*.

[37] See *Battcley*'s Antiquitates Rutupinæ.

particular and exact, makes *Phaccusa* only a village; and places it very properly upon the *Arabian* canal, to which its name alludes, and on the eastern side of the *Nile*. There is therefore reason to think, that the province of which we have been speaking was termed simply *Cush* and *Cushan*, without the word *Phacat*, to which it had no relation: and the chief city was called *Cushan Aur*, as I have before shewn. I am confirmed in my opinion by the testimony of the antient historian *Ephorus*, who mentioned this city by that name: Κασσανωρος, πολις Αιγυπτια, ἡς μεμνηται Εφορος. *Goltzius* has a coin of *Vespasian* with an inscription to the same purpose, ΚΑΣΣΑΝΩΡΙΤΩΝ. And *Stephanus Byzantinus*, from whom this testimony of *Ephorus* is taken, adds to the above, το εθνικον Κασσανωριτης; "the name of the people is *Cassanoritæ*." Who can, after this, doubt whether the *Auritæ* of *Egypt* were *Cuseans?*

Some of the *Grecians*, who first visited *Egypt*, spoke of the city *Cercasorum* as the city of *Orus*. But others, instead of expressing it Ωρα or Ωρου πολιν, altered it to Ἡρωων πολιν. The *Seventy* therefore, when they say that [38] *Joseph* went up to meet his father, and render what is in the original *Goshen* by Ἡρωων πολις or *Heroum*, misinterpret the place that they are referred to; which was not *Hero-*

[38] *Gen.* 46. v. 29.

opolis on the *Red Sea*, but the city of *Orus* in *Egypt*. So that the place which is really alluded to by them, and that which I treat of, are the same; though they have changed the name, and by that means been the authors of much confusion. Just above the town of *Geeza* is a little island called *Aurea*; which certainly is not a name of *Roman* original, though at first sight there may be some appearance of it. It is bounded by a canal called *Calig Al Cusherah*; which is undoubtedly a name of antient date, and witnesses the true etymology of the other. The *Romans*, finding the place called *Aur* and *Aurah*, imitated the *Greeks* in adapting it to their own language; and called this island and the adjacent country *Aurea*. The later *Arabians*, who succeeded in these parts, have been misled by this; and given the island the name of [39]*Guzarat* or *Gieziret Edahab*, "the golden island." But the situation of this place, and the name of the canal, *Al Cusharah*[40] (both near the point where stood the antient *Aur*) manifestly prove that they have been esteemed appendages to that antient city, and have received their names from it. Indeed, the whole country where the *Cuseans* principally resided was called *Aurah*, by the *Greeks* changed to *Aëria*: of which there are many tokens. The py-

[39] *Norden's* Travels. vol. 2.

[40] *Pocock's* large map of *Egypt*.

ramids near *Faiume* are called the pyramids of [41] *Havara;* which is the same word, though a little diversified. Such variations must happen in a long course of years. The modern *Greeks*, who pronounce αυτος, αφτος, and *aurum*, *avarum*, would call *Aurah*, *Avara* at this day. These are wonderful memorials of former times; and certainly relate to the histories which I have been treating of; to occurrences, that happened in the most early ages: such as no length of time has been able to cancel.

There are many places to be met with, which terminate in *Ur* and *Our;* all manifestly denominated from the same element that the *Carour* of the *Cuscans* was derived from; as may be proved from their history and situation: whence it is plain that I am not wrong in the etymology of that place. The city that was the boundary of *Phrygia* and *Caria* had a name of the like purport; which was given to it on account of its situation. For it was built in a most inflammable and sulphureous soil, and in the neighbourhood of hot fountains; so that every object betokened fire. It was called *Carour* and *Caroura;* and the country all around termed Κεκαυμενη or *burnt*. [42] Καρουρα δε ὀριον εστι της Φρυγιας και της Καριας· κωμη δ' εστιν αὐτη παυδοχεια εχουσα, και ζεσων ὑδατων εκβολας·—Σχεδον δε τοι ευσεισος εστι και πασα

[41] *Vansleb*'s State of *Egypt*.

[42] *Strabo*, vol. 2. pag. 867. 869.

ἡ περι τον Μαιανδρον χωρα, και ὑπονομος πυρι τε και ὑδατι μεχρι της μεσογαιας'—Και δη και τα περι του Τυφωνα παθη ενταυθα μυθευσι, και τους Αριμους, και την Κατακεκαυμενην ταυτην ειναι φασιν. There was likewise a temple of the same name in the vicinity of the above-mentioned city; and denominated from the same circumstances. [43] Μεταξυ δε της Λαοδικειας και των Καρουρων ἱερον εστι Μηνος, Καρου (Καρουρ) καλουμενον, τιμωμενον αξιολογως. It was called the temple of *Menes;* and was probably built by some of *Egyptian* race, that settled here: who came either from *Colchis* or *Cappadocia*, where were the two most antient colonies from that country. The temple was called *Carour:* and it was probably erected in honor of the first king of *Egypt*, who was called by that name, and in memory of the city that we have been treating of. There was another city of lower *Egypt* towards the sea, that was likewise called *Carour;* and is mentioned in the *Notitia Ecclesiastica:* by some it was termed *Achoris.*

Such are the evidences of the *Cuseans* having resided in *Egypt;* who left behind them traces, that are not to this day erased. In the antient histories and monuments they occur very frequently; so that *Scaliger* might well say, [44] *Multa Arabica in veteribus monumentis Ægyptiacis observavimus; quæ nobis ignota quærant studiosi.*

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[43] *Strabo.* vol. 2. pag. 867. 869.

[44] Animadv. in *Euseb.* Chron.

SOME

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED;

AND OTHER

PROOFS PRODUCED:

WHEREIN IS FARTHER SHEWN,

THAT THE ARABIAN SHEPHERDS WERE DISTINCT FROM THE ISRAELITES, AND PRIOR TO THEM.

NO history has been esteemed more difficult to settle than that of the *Arabian Pastors:* which difficulty has arisen from not considering that they were a twofold race, and essentially different in almost every circumstance. When the *Arabians* came into *Egypt*, they are said to have been 240000 in number: the *Israelites* were but seventy persons. The former took possession by force: the latter were invited; and had all they possessed granted to them. The one held the people in slavery: the others were theirselves inslaved. The *Arabians* were driven out of the land: the *Israelites* were not suffered to depart. Notwithstanding this, *Josephus* among the antients, and

[45] *Witsius*, *Perizonius* and others among the moderns, think that this history relates to the *Israelites* only. *Manetho*, who is the first that speaks of these *Shepherds*, and from whom *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and *Syncellus* have chiefly borrowed what they produce, plainly distinguishes between them. *Josephus*, and those of his opinion, have no other way to set this evidence aside, but by supposing that *Manetho* had an utter aversion to the *Jews*, and would not mention any thing in their favour: a supposition so ill grounded, that it is wonderful how persons of any reflection could advance it. For what is it that *Manetho* can be supposed to have suppressed out of prejudice? If we were to allow that the *Israelites* were the *Shepherds* who got the sovereignty in *Egypt*; what would be their history? They were in the land of *Canaan* during a famine, and in very great distress: but were invited into *Egypt*, where their wants were supplied: and they were permitted to settle in the very best of the country, and had part of it assigned them for a possession. As they increased in number, they forgot their obligations: and, rising in arms against their benefactors, subdued them by force; and for a great while ruled tyrannically over them; burn-

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[45] *Hermanni Witsii Ægyptiaca.* lib. 3. cap. 3. He imagines that the first *Shepherds* were *Abraham* and his retinue; and the sons of *Israel* the second.

ing their temples and cities, and overturning their altars; till, by a reverse of fortune, they were defeated in their turn, and at last driven out of the country. What is there in all this detail, that *Manetho* could suppress out of ill will to the *Jews?* There is not a circumstance, but an enemy would enlarge upon and aggravate. All this scandal *Josephus* would gladly entail upon the memory of his forefathers; merely for this empty gratification, that it might be said, that they once bore rule in *Egypt;* [46] ὅτι κατα την χωραν αυτων εδυναστευσαν ἡμων οἱ προγονοι. If this history had really related to the *Israelites*, I do not see what could have hindered *Manetho* from prefixing their name to it: I am sure he could not omit it out of prejudice. The *Royal Shepherds* were certainly a distinct people from the *Israelites;* and likewise prior in time. This I have already shewn: and it will farther appear from the disgust the *Egyptians* had entertained for people of that profession, when the *Israelites* went first into that country. "Every "shepherd was an abomination to the *Egyptians.*" It was not a bare dislike, but an abhorrence; which must have arisen in great measure from the cruel treatment the *Egyptians* had experienced. Some indeed, among whom is *Theodoret*, imagine that their antipathy was owing to the different customs

[46] Contra Apion. lib. 1. §. 25.

of the two nations: the *Shepherds* occupation being to rear and tend sheep, which they sacrificed and fed on; while the *Egyptians* abstained from this food, and held it in abhorrence. But this custom of abstinence, if ever it existed, was never universal. The people of *Thebes* three hundred and fifty miles above *Delta* held it criminal to sacrifice, and perhaps, to taste the flesh of sheep: but others made no scruple to feed on it, particularly the *Mendesians;* and they on the other hand abstained from goats. [47] Ὅσοι μεν δη Διος Θηβαιδα ἱδρυνται ἱρον, η νομδ τδ Θηβαιδ εισι, ὁυτοι μεν νυν παντες οἰων απεχομενοι, αιγας θυδσι.—Ὅσοι δη τδ Μενδητος εκτηνται ἱρον, η νομδ τδ Μενδησιδ εισι, ὁυτοι δε αιγων απεχομενοι οἰς θυδσι. This custom therefore was local and partial, and could never be the cause of universal abhorrence. It is contrary to the account given us by *Diodorus Siculus;* who speaks of the fertility of their meadows, and the manner of their managing them; together with the numerous flocks, of which they were possessed. He mentions that "their "sheep were wonderfully fruitful; that they had "young twice in a year, and were shorn as often "in that season." [48] Οι δε χερσευειν εασαντες την επιϰεϰλυσμενην χωραν, ϰαι τοις ποιμνιοις ανεντες μηλοβοτον, δια το πληθος της νομης, δις τεϰουτα ϰαι δις αποϰαρεντα τα

[47] *Herod.* lib. 2. cap. 42.

[48] Lib. 1. pag. 23.

προβατα καρπευνται. And, in another place, describing the early ages and the customs of the first inhabitants of the country, he says that "they fed "upon some sort of cattle, and cloathed them-"selves with their skins:" [49] ὁμοιως δε και των βοσκηματων ἑνια σαρκοφαγειν, και ταις δοραις των κατεσθιομενων εσθητι χρησθαι. What they fed upon, and what they abstained from, is pretty plain from the latter part: they fed upon oxen and sheep, whose skins are best adapted for cloathing: and they abstained from horses and camels, which are included in the term βοσκηματα. It is moreover expressly contrary to the account of *Moses:* where *Pharaoh*, hearing that the sons of *Israel* were shepherds, not only permits them to bring their flocks and herds; but [50] appoints them to take care of his own cattle, wherein his flocks were undoubtedly included. And, to put the matter out of all doubt, the flocks of the *Egyptians*, as well as their herds, are expressly mentioned by *Moses;* where he speaks of the exchange that the people made for corn in the height of the famine. [51] "And *Joseph* said, Give your "cattle; and I will give you for your cattle, if "money fail. And they brought their cattle to "*Joseph:* and *Joseph* gave them bread in ex-

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[49] Lib. 1. pag 28.
[50] *Gen.* 47. v. 6.
[51] Ibid. v. 16.

" change for horses, and for the FLOCKS, and for " the cattle of the herds and for the asses." To what purpose could they rear so many sheep, if they never fed upon them? *Grotius* supposes for their wool. But is it possible that the wool only, or the milk, would answer the trouble and expense of keeping such numerous flocks, that each year more than doubled their number? And can any account be given of what was done with the supernumeraries? For, without thinning them, the land, fruitful as it was and extensive, would not have sufficed for pasturage. The skins they could not have to make use of, till the animal died: and they then must have been of no service. Yet the *Egyptians* are supposed to have made use of their skins. Without all doubt they fed upon sheep, as all other nations did. It cannot be supposed, if the *Egyptians* disliked sheep and abhorred shepherds, that they would have been troubled with either of them. *Diodorus*, indeed, says that sheep were held sacred on account of their great utility: but it does not follow that the *Egyptians* never fed upon them. It is hard to pronounce what animals were not sacred among this people; and as difficult to determine what was the consequence of their being esteemed so. The words of *Diodorus* are as follow. [52] Τα δε προβατα δις μεν τικτειν, και

[52] Lib. 1. pag. 54.

τοις εριοις την σκεπην ἁμα και την ευσχημοσυνην περιποιειν· τῳ δε γαλακτι και τῳ τυρῳ τροφας παρεχεσθαι προσηνεις ἁμα και δαψιλεις. On these accounts they were held sacred. But this was common to animals that they fed upon[53]. Male cattle were sacred to *Epaphus*. [54] Βους τους ερσενας του Επαφου ειναι νομιζουσι: yet they were universally eaten: [55] Τους μεν νυν καθαρους βους τους ερσενας, και τους μοσχους οἱ παντες Αιγυπτιοι θυουσι. And, as it was an heartening food, the soldiers were allowed two pounds a day: [56] τουτοισι δ' ων ταδε παρεξ των αρουρεων αλλα εδιδοτο επ' ἡμερῃ ἑκαστῃ· οπτου σιτου σταθμος πεντε μνεαι ἑκαστῳ, κρεων βοεων δυο μνεαι, οινου τεσσερες αρυστηρες. So that this antipathy could not proceed from any difference in diet; for no difference is discernable. Care must therefore be taken, that we do not confound what *Herodotus* says about things sacrificed by the *Egyptians*, with the things that were ordinarily eaten by them: for there were many species of food that they never offered to the gods, which they made no scruple to feed upon; otherwise they must have starved. We are told by *Alexander Sardus*[57] that they originally used no other offerings in their temples than frankincense

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[53] Τινα μεν γαρ των ζωων ἁπαντες κοινῃ τιμωσιν Αιγυπτιοι, καθαπερ των πεζων μεν τρια, βουν, κυνα, αιλουρον. *Strab.* vol. 2. pag. 1166.

[54] *Herodot.* lib. 2. cap. 38.

[55] Ibid. lib. 2. cap. 41.

[56] Ibid. lib. 2. cap. 168.

[57] Lib. 3. cap. 15.

and libations, attended with suitable thanks and praises: but no body can suppose that in these consisted their diet. The priests were particularly abstemious: yet, from what they were allowed, we may form some judgment of what was permitted to the people, who were under less restraint. *Chæremo* the stoic, as we learn from [58] *Porphyry*, gave this account of their food, that it was very simple and plain, διαιτα δε λιτη και αφελης; that they tasted no wine, and abstained from all fish, και τετραποδων, οσα μωνυχα η πολυσχιδη, η μη[59] (ει μη) κερασφορα· πτηνων δε οσα σαρκοφαγα. "They abstained from all four-"footed animals, that were either solid-hoofed, or "that divided the foot, unless they were of the "horned species:" that is, they abstained from all quadrupeds, but sheep and oxen; "and all carni-"vorous birds." And even among these they had some exceptions: the flesh of a cow or heifer they never could be induced to taste: [60] Παρα γαν Αιγυπτιοις και Φοινιξι ϑαττον αν τις ανθρωπειων κρεων γευσαιτο,

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[58] De Abstin. lib. 4.

[59] In the original it is thus: "They abstained from all qua-"drupeds, that were either of a solid hoof, or that divided the "foot, or that had not horns:" but this includes all fourfooted beasts. Here is a seeming exception made, and no allowance given: a remainder supposed, where there is nothing left. It should therefore be ει μη, "unless they were horned." By this means hogs and camels were excluded.

[60] *Porphyr.* de Abstin. lib. 2.

τ. θηλειας βους. *Plutarch* however does not allow the priests the latitude I have mentioned; but says that they lay under an interdict in respect to sheep: [61] παραιτεισθαι—και των κριων τα μηλεια. Supposing this to be as *Plutarch* represents it; we plainly learn from it, that this practice of abstinence did not reach to the common people: for he would not have mentioned a circumstance as peculiar to the priesthood, if it had prevailed universally.

We find then, that what the *Egyptians* abstained from in those early times, was not the eating sheep or oxen, but the using them for sacrifice. [62] Μαθοι δ' αν τις επιβλεψας τους λογιωτατους παντων Αιγυπτιους· οι τοσουτον απειχον του φονευειν τε των λοιπων ζωων, ωστε τας τουτων εικονας μιμηματα των θεων εποιουντο·—απ' αρχης μεν γαρ αι των καρπων εγινοντο τοις θεοις θυσιαι. [63] Υστερα μεν τοινυν και νεωτατη η δια των ζωων θυσια. In short, they shed no blood in their temples, nor brought victims to their altars. And, though *Herodotus* does make

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[61] De Isid. et Osir.

[62] *Porphyr.* de Abstin. lib. 2.

[63] Ibid. *Prisci homines soli et sideribus, quos existimabant Deos, herbam cum foliis et radice comburebant: mittebant etiam απαρχας, frugum primitias; nam animalia occidere nefas arbitrabantur. Et dicebat Pythagoras se aliquando comcilio Deorum interfuisse; eosque didicisse Ægyptiorum sacrificia probare, quæ libationibus constant, thure et laudibus: non placere animantium cædes. Alex. Sard.* lib. 3. cap. 15. See *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. lib. 1. cap. 9.

mention of bloody sacrifices in his time; yet it was not so of old. And, even when he wrote, they were not universal. For when, in the time of the *Ptolemies*, the *Egyptians* were in some parts obliged to admit *Saturn* and *Serapis* as gods; [64] *Ita tamen imperio paruerunt, ut non omnino religionis suæ observata confunderent. Nam quia nunquam fas fuit Ægyptiis pecudibus et sanguine, sed precibus et thure solo placare Deos, his autem duobus advenis hostiæ erant ex more mactandæ; fana eorum extra pomœrium locaverunt; ut et illi sacrificii solennis sibi cruore colerentur, nec tamen urbana templa pecudum morte polluerentur.* The situation of this temple, where *Serapis* was worshipped, was in the *Nitriotic* nome, as we learn from *Strabo*. He tells us, conformably to what is said above, that this was the only place in *Egypt* where a sheep was sacrificed. [65] Τιμαται δ' ενταυθα ὁ Σαραπις· και παρα μονοις τουτοις θυεται εν Αιγυπτῳ προβατον. When *Pharaoh* therefore, to prevent the children of *Israel* from going three days journey into the wilderness, tells *Moses*, that they may sacrifice to their God in *Egypt;* he is answered, [66] "It is not meet so to do; for we shall sacrifice the abomination of the *Egyptians* to the "Lord our God: lo, shall we sacrifice the abomi-

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[64] *Macrob.* Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 7.

[65] Vol. 2. pag. 1155.

[66] *Exod.* 8. v. 26.

"nation of the *Egyptians* before their eyes, and will "they not stone us?" The abomination was a sacrifice of blood: which offering was so offensive to the *Egyptians*, that the *Israelites*, during their sojournment, do not appear to have once ventured to sacrifice after the custom of their fathers. They seem to have been under a prohibition from the princes of the country: as we may infer from the repeated requests of *Moses*; who, unless he went three days journey into the wilderness, did not think it safe to offer a burnt-offering to the Lord. In respect to sacrifices in those early times, it was usual for people of every profession to make some returns to the gods for the benefits they enjoyed. This acknowledgement was generally made out of the increase, that they were particularly blessed with. Among the *Egyptians* it consisted originally in handfuls of corn, grass, and of the lotus, with other fruits of the earth. In process of time they added myrrh, frankincense and casia for the service of the altar. [67] Such were the offerings of the antient *Egyptians*. On the other hand, the shepherd's increase was from the fold only; and his offerings were the firstlings of

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[67] Ου σμυρνης, ουδε κασιας, και λιβανωτου κροκω μιχθεντων απαρχας, πολλαις γαρ γενεαις υστερα παρειληφθη ταυτα.—ου τουτων εθνος πρωτερον, αλλα χλοης. *Porph.* de Abstin. lib. 2.

his flock. This made the *Egyptians* dislike shepherds; not their occupation; for nothing was more innocent or necessary. Besides, they had flocks of their own, and consequently people to tend them. But they disliked foreign [68] shepherds on account of their different rites and customs: which hatred must have arisen from an intimate intercourse: for we do not abominate what we are little acquainted with. We may dislike at a distance, and disapprove: but this was a total abhorrence. It was a general and national disgust; to promote which, many things must have concurred. In the first place, the *Egyptians* were a fastidious people from the beginning; and held every nation but their own in low esteem. [69] Βαρβαρους δε παντας οι Αιγυπτιοι καλεουσι τους μη σφισι ὁμογλωσσους. This contempt was carried into a disgust by the contrariety in their religious customs: and this still heightened and imbittered by the tyranny of the *Pastor Kings*, and the cruel usage

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[68] *Scaliger* differs from me in opinion about the *Shepherds* of *Egypt*. See Animadvers. in *Euseb.* Chron. pag. 18.

[69] *Herod.* lib. 2. cap. 158. See also lib. 2. cap. 41.—*Gen.* 43. v. 32. "And they set on for him by himself, and for them by "themselves, and for the *Egyptians* that did eat with him, by "themselves: because the *Egyptians* might not eat bread with "the *Hebrews*; for that is an abomination unto the *Egyptians*." —not the eating bread, but the eating it with the *Hebrews*.

that the *Egyptians* experienced from them; particularly, when they broke down the shrines of their gods, and overturned their altars. Hence arose that fixed hatred we have been speaking of; which was prior to the coming of the *Israelites*. "For every "shepherd was an abomination to the *Egyptians*," before they knew *Joseph*: the reigns therefore of the *Cusean* kings were antecedent likewise.

OF

THE STATE OF EGYPT

AT THE

DEPARTURE OF THE ARABIAN SHEPHERDS.

IN these early times there were no large monarchies formed. The *Assyrian* and *Babylonish* empires, as they are termed, were distinct, and in reality of small extent. All countries seem to have been divided into petty [1] principalities. Every city for the most part had its particular king. A powerful enemy had forced *Egypt* to unite itself under one head: but that grievance being removed, the people of that country seem to have soon lapsed again into a state of independency. At least they were divided; and under the jurisdiction of different governors. *Ar-*

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[1] *Quemadmodum Ægyptus, priscis hisce temporibus, inter diversos distributa est regulos, ita etiam in Asiâ regna vetussima sunt angustissima.—Urbes singulæ suos habebant* τοπαρχας. *Marsham.* Canon Chron. Sec. V. pag. 76.

tapanus says, that there were many kings in *Egypt* in the time of *Moses*: [2] πολλας γαρ τοτε της Αιγυπτου βασιλευειν. "One of the principal of which was "*Palmanothes*, who built *Kessa* or *Goshen*, and the "temple at [3] *Heliopolis*." But both *Goshen* that he alludes to, and the temple at *Heliopolis* were built before the time he speaks of: and *Palmanothes*, or, as his true name was, *Phamenoth*, the *Amenophis* of the *Greeks*, reigned according to *Manetho* before *Moses*; being the prince who first began to distress the *Israelites*, when as yet *Moses* was not born. And there is reason to think that the variety of governments in *Egypt* was in great measure abolished by *Joseph*, and the better part of the nation reduced under one king. This leads me to consider a passage in Scripture, which the enemies of revelation have made a bad use of; and which in general has not been understood. The part that I allude to is in the 47th chapter of *Genesis*; where, in the time of the famine, *Joseph* is said to have purchased the land of *Egypt* for *Pharaoh*. I have mentioned be-

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[2] *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. lib. 9. cap. 27.

[3] He certainly confounds the story of *Joseph* with that of *Moses*, as *Manetho* and others had done before. *Scaliger*, though it makes against his opinion, is obliged to allow that *Egypt* originally was under the dominion of different princes at the same time: *patet diversos Reges eodem tempore in Ægypto in diversis partibus imperium obtinuisse.* Isagog. Chron. Can. pag. 312.

fore, that this country was divided into many districts and provinces called by the natives *Tabir*, but by the *Greeks* Νομοι: which were originally independent of each other. We read of *Theban*, *Memphitic*, *Diospolite*, *Tanite*, *Bubastite* and other [4] kings; whose reigns are not to be estimated by a series in succession, but by synchronisms, as *Marsham* and others have observed. The land must necessarily have been weakened by this division of the supreme power: and it probably was the reason that the *Cuseans* got such easy footing, and maintained themselves so long. *Joseph* therefore, when he came to have full authority under *Pharaoh*, seems to have immediately entertained a view of uniting the whole nation. And as there was no other government, that we know of, in those times but that of monarchy, he was resolved to establish it universally through the land; and make every province subservient to one head. *Artapanus* speaks of such an establishment effected; and says the *Israelitish* chief took great pains to bring it about, in favour of the prince he was concerned with: for before this the populace raised and depressed kings at their pleasure. [5] Ταυτα δε παντα ποιησαι χαριν τε την

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[4] See *Marsham's* πολυχειρια *Ægypti* in Canon. Chronic. Secul. XVI. pag. 470.

[5] Apud *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. lib. 9. cap. 27.

μοναρχιαν βεβαιαν τῳ Χενεφρῃ διαφυλαξαι· προτερον γαρ αδιαταχτες οντας τους οχλους, ποτε μεν ἐκβαλλειν, ποτε δε καθιζανειν βασιλεις. But he attributes this to *Moses* instead of [6] *Joseph*. Now there is reason to think that *Moses* was very little engaged in the business of the nation: he seems to have sacrificed all views that way: and, throughout the whole account that he gives of himself, he appears in a private capacity; having renounced the advantages that might have accrued by adoption, and returned to the stock of his fathers. But *Joseph*, we know, was invested with high power. The management of the whole realm was intrusted to him: [7] "only in the throne," says *Pharaoh*, "will I be greater than thou." It was *Joseph* therefore that brought about this weighty affair. He availed himself, during the famine, of the necessities of the people; and made them purchase their subsistence at the price of their indepen-

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[6] The history of these two great men is often confounded; not only by *Pagan* writers, but, what is extraordinary, even by *Christians*. The author of the *Alexandrine Chronicle* gives the name of *Sophom Phaneas* or *Zaphnah Paancah* to *Moses*, which is well known from *Gen.* 41. v. 45. to belong only to *Joseph*; and makes a wrong application of the purport of it. Τον Μωυσην, μετα το ἐκπεσειν αυτον τας πληγας, οἱ Αιγυπτιοι Ψομθομ-φανεχθη προσηγορευσαν, ὁ ἑρμηνευεται, ὡ ἀποκαλυφθη μελλον. pag. 178. edit. Rader. *Chæremo* is guilty of the same confusion of these two persons; as is *Manetho* likewise.

[7] *Gen.* 41. v. 40.

dency. [8] " Wherefore shall we die," say they, " be-
" fore thine eyes, both we and our land? buy us and
" our land for bread, and we and our land will be
" servants unto *Pharaoh:* and give us seed, that
" we may live, and not die, that the land be not de-
" solate. And *Joseph* bought all the land of *Egypt*
" for *Pharaoh:* and as for the people, he removed
" them to cities from one end of the borders of
" *Egypt,* even to the other end thereof." And, to maintain the supreme authority in one person for the future, he laid them all under an obligation, when he gave them seed for their lands, that one fifth part of the produce should be [9] *Pharaoh's.* This was a noble and salutary scheme, carried on with great policy and justice; which was the foundation both of the grandeur and the perpetuity of the *Egyptian* name. There were no means of effecting this union, but those that were made use of; which were executed with great forecast and sagacity. The state of the *Egyptians* at that time may be known from the words before quoted: " buy us and our land for

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[8] *Gen.* 47. v. 19, &c.

[9] Hence we find that, though there were several princes in *Egypt*, yet there was one of superior power, called *Pharaoh;* to whom several princes paid more or less homage: but many were independent. Και αλλων βασιλεων ηγεμονων, Παλμανθης βασιλευων των ανω Ηλιουπολιτων τοπων. Chron. Pasch. pag. 63. The chief monarch lived near *Heliopolis,* in the vicinity of *Goshen.*

"bread, and we and our land will be [10] servants," i. e. amenable, "to *Pharaoh*." It seems plain that this people must have been before independent, and their lands not liable to fine or taxation. They suffered therefore no injury from what was enjoined them; being only reduced, from a state of misrule, to be on the same level as people of all other nations were, that lived in obedience to a king: for before they were licentious and lawless. This distribution of land in *Egypt*, and the happy consequences that ensued upon it, are mentioned by the above cited author; who tells us that *Joseph* taught them to separate their fields, and to distinguish them by proper boundaries; which put an end to the many feuds and acts of violence that had before subsisted among them. [11] Και προτερον ατακτως την

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[10] "Am not I a *Philistine*, and ye servants to *Saul*?" that is, subjects. 1 *Sam.* 17. v. 8.

[11] *Artapanus* apud *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. lib. 9. cap. 23. This could not have been effected by *Joseph*, if the kingdom had been still in a disunited state: his influence could not have reached "from one end of the borders of *Egypt* even to the other end thereof." He therefore had reduced the people under one monarchy: and it is from hence plain that *Artapanus* has mixed the accounts of two different persons; and has, in the former passage, attributed to *Moses* what relates only to *Joseph*. He moreover says, that *Joseph* appointed a particular portion of land for the priests: but, according to *Moses*, he meddled not with their lands: nor do they seem to be considerable: for the priests were

Αιγυπτιων γεωμορουντων, δια το την χωραν αδιαιρετον ειναι, και των ελασσονων ὑπο των κρεισσονων αδικουμενων· τουτον [Ιωσηφ] πρωτον την τε γην διελειν, και ὁροις διασημηνασθαι, και την πολλην χερσευομενην γεωργησιμον αποτελεσαι, και τινας των αρουρων τοις ἱερευσιν αποκληρωσαι. By this compromise and establishment, which *Joseph* so happily enacted, the king was invested with the property of the land: but four parts out of five of the produce was secured to the people. All this was done for the general good, to which each particular in his turn was obliged to contribute. And this tax for

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dependent on the king, and "had a portion assigned them of "*Pharaoh*, and did eat their portion which *Pharaoh* gave them; "wherefore they sold not their lands.—The land of the priests "only became not *Pharaoh*'s." *Gen.* 47. v. 22. &c. In after times the lands of the soldiers, as well as those of the priests, were held under peculiar exemptions: the soldiers had assigned them each man 12 arouræ, i. e. a square of 100 *Egyptian* cubits every way. Γερεα δε σφι [Καλασυριοις] ην ταδε εξαραιρημενα μουνοισι Αιγυπτιων παρεξ των ἱρεων· αρουραι εξαιρετοι δυωδεκα ἑκαστῳ ατελεες· ἡ δε αρουρα ἑκατον πηχεων εστι Αιγυπτιων παντῃ. Ὁ δε Αιγυπτιος πηχυς τυγχανει ισος εων τῳ Σαμιῳ. *Herod.* lib. 2. cap. 168. 12 arouræ are equal to 9 acres and 165 millesimals. See Bp. *Cumberland* on *Jewish* measures and weights, pag. 16. Some interpret this passage (*Gen.* 47. v. 22.) in a different manner. Εισι δε ὑτοι παντων τε ατελεις, και δευτερευοντες μετα τον βασιλεα ταις δε δοξαις και ταις εξουσιαις. *Diod. Sic.* of the *Egyptian* priests, lib. 1. pag. 46. Αλλ' ουν γε Αιγυπτιοι ὡν νυν δη εμνησθην, κατα τας θρησκειας τας σφων εσκεδανται. *Clement. Alex.* Cohort. ad Gentes. vol. 1. pag. 33. edit. Potter. Ἡ δε δη εξαιρεσις των ἱρων, και ἡ καυσις, αλλη περι αλλο ἱρον σφι κατεστηκε. *Herod.* lib. 2. cap. 40.

the services of the crown, and maintenance of so great a monarchy, was certainly a light one. The removal of the *Egyptians* into new and different allotments, from one end of the kingdom to the other, was an instance of great policy. It was the very thing that many ages after was practised by that consummate commander *Hannibal;* in which he was copied by the *Romans.* The kings of *Assyria* are observed to have acted in the same manner. It was a sure way to prevent innovation and rebellion. That *Egypt* had originally many different tribes, if not nations, we learn from Scripture; and that they were not all equally subordinate to the principal person of the land, but had their separate attachments and jurisdictions, I have shewn. It appears farther from the many various and opposite customs which prevailed among them, even to the times of the *Romans.* Each of the portions into which the land was cantoned out having its particular succession of kings; there has arisen from it great confusion and uncertainty in the chronology of *Egypt:* which seems to be inexplicable. From the first peopling of the country I imagine this variety of governments to have subsisted; which defect in the national establishment was in great measure remedied by *Joseph:* whence arose a very powerful monarchy, and one of the longest duration in history. It is not however meant that *Egypt* after the days of *Joseph* continued always uniformly under one head. It was at times divided, and lapsed into a kind of oligarchy: but

still it recovered itself, and flourished for many ages: and the means of such recovery, and the original form of their government, which they returned to, were owing to the primeval institutions of this great patriarch. [12] Some have thought that the memory of *Joseph* was preserved in the *Egyptian* rites and symbols, though it has been long obscured; and that divine honours were paid to him. This may perhaps be doubtful: but thus far we may be assured, that every honour that a grateful people could in reason pay to a benefactor, this wonderful man deserved at the hands of the *Egyptians*.

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[12] See *Marsham* Πολυκοιρανιη *Ægypti*, ad Sec. XVI. pag. 470. *Vossius* de Orig. et Progr. Idol. lib. 1. cap. 28.

SOME

FARTHER ACCOUNT

OF THE

ARABIANS WHO RESIDED IN EGYPT.

IT may perhaps be expected that I should say something of the time, when the *Arabian Shepherds* first made their migration from *Babylonia*; and of the reasons that induced them to leave their native country, and betake themselves to the land of *Ham*. This is a very remote inquiry; and both the time and the cause of their coming obscure. Yet there are means left us to trace it out to a degree, though not perhaps precisely; and the grounds on which I shall proceed may, I think, be warranted.

Upon the dispersion of mankind, it is observable that the sons of *Shem* had the pre-eminence, either by the allotment of their great progenitor, or else by divine appointment: which latter is pretty plainly implied. Hence *Elam*, *Aram*, *Ashur*, and *Arphaxad* retired to their several provinces, which were

not very far removed from the place whence all set out; and which for many ages retained their names. The sons of *Japhet* were removed farther; but did not hesitate to obey. As to the lot of *Ashur*, it seems to have been the region between the two great rivers, the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*; and that particular spot which was the centre of the general [1] dissipation. But it appears that the sons of *Chus*, under the influence of their imperious leader *Nimrod*, stood their ground, and maintained themselves in opposition to the general partition. They usurped the lot of *Ashur*: and *Nimrod*, to secure what he

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[1] It seems, as if the design of Providence was that the three branches of Noah's family should divide the earth between them: that *Asia* was to be allotted to the sons of *Shem*, *Europe* to *Japhet*, and *Africa* to *Ham*. *America* was too remote to be then considered. These three large continents were in great measure peopled according to this distribution. The only exception was *Nimrod* together with his people, and the sons of *Canaan*; who went contrary to the general allotment, and, as it seems to be implied, in opposition to the divine decree: which was the reason that the *Canaanites* and *Amorites*, and all the collateral branches, together with the *Amalekites*, were so particularly obnoxious, and devoted by the express ordinance of God to destruction for their rebellion and impiety. See *Syncellus*. p. 45. Νεωτερισατο ὁ τȣ Χαμ ὑιος Χανααν, επεβη τοις ὁριοις τȣ Σημ, κ. τ. λ. taken from *Euseb*. Chron. p. 10. Νεωτερισας ὁ τȣ Χαμ ὑιος Χανααν επεβη τοις ὁριοις τȣ Σημ, και κατῳκησεν εκει παραβας την εντολην Νωε, συν τοις εξ αυτȣ γενομενοις εθνεσιν ἑπτα,— ὑς δια Μωσεως και Ιησȣ τȣ Ναυη εξωλοθρευσεν ὁ Θεος, και κατα τινας καιρȣς δια των Κριτων απεδωκε τοις ὑιοις Ισραηλ την πατρωαν γην, δικαιος και εν τȣτῳ φανεις ὁ Θεος. See Additional Remarks.

had unjustly seized upon, immediately set about fortifying the country. He built *Babylon*, that famous city of old; also *Erech*, *Accad* and *Calneh*, all in the land of *Shinaar*: which land was occupied originally by *Ashur*; but he was forced to quit it, and leave the kingdom he had laid the foundation of to others. [2] "Behold," says *Isaiah*, "the land of the "*Chaldeans*; this people was not till the *Assyrian* "founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness" (*i. e.* the *Cuseans* or *Arabians*:) "they set up the "towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof; "and he brought it to ruin." And accordingly we are told in *Genesis*; "Out of that land went forth "*Ashur*," that is, went by compulsion; for all went out of the land originally; but he went out of the place of his allotment; and having so powerful an enemy to deal with, and not knowing where his encroachments would end, set about fortifying in his turn; and built a chain of cities, equal both in strength and number to those that had been founded by *Nimrod*. He [3] "builded *Nineveh*, and the "city *Rehoboth*, and *Calah*, And *Resen* between "*Nineveh* and *Calah*: the same is a great city." [4] *Bochart* and *Hyde*, men of most excellent learn-

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[2] *Isaiah*. 23. v. 13.

[3] *Gen*. 10. v. 11, 12.

[4] *Hyde* chap. 2. pag. 41. *Bochart* Geogr. Sacr. pars prior. lib. 4. cap. 12.

ing, interpret this passage otherwise: and, instead of "out of this land went *Ashur* and built *Nineve*," they translate it, *Nimrod went out of this land into Ashur or Assyria, and built Nineve.* Whether the original will bear this interpretation, let those determine who are sufficiently skilled in it. The chief objection made by these writers to the common acceptation of the passage arises from this; that *Ashur*, they say, is here mentioned out of his place: which is the most frivolous and ill grounded allegation that could be thought of. Nothing is more common with the sacred writers, in giving a list of people, than to introduce some little history of particular persons, as they mention them: of which many instances may be [5] produced. The person here spoken of is *Nimrod*, of the line of *Ham;* who is mentioned as an extraordinary character. As he trespassed upon *Ashur*, and forced him to leave the land of *Shinaar;* his history is so blended with that of *Ashur*, that one could not be mentioned without the other. What is said is so far from being introduced out of its place, that nothing could come in more naturally, or with greater propriety. It was impossible to omit it, without rendering the history defective. *Cush* begat *Nimrod:* he was a bold and powerful man. He seized upon *Babylon*, and forced *Ashur* to leave

[5] See *Gen.* 10. v. 5. 14, 18, 19, 30. *Gen.* 36. v. 24, 30. 1 *Chron.* 7. v. 21.

that country, who went out of the land, and built *Nineve* and other cities. This is the amount of it: and what can be more natural and proper? These circumstances are not introduced as belonging to the history of *Ashur*, but of *Nimrod*, to which they are an appendage. If the genealogy of *Ashur* had been here spoken of, it might have been excepted to with more shew of propriety. But that was reserved to its particular place.

We may therefore venture to accede to the interpretation of the Bible according to our present translation; and say that *Ashur* built *Nineve*, as *Babylon* was founded by *Nimrod*. The differences that must have subsisted between these two states are not recorded: but it is pretty certain that the sons of *Ashur* got possession of *Babylon* very early, and recovered the place of their original destination. It was in consequence of their being expelled from *Babylon*, that I imagine the *Cuseans* went into *Egypt*, and occupied the best of the country; to which they gave their name. Whether it was immediately upon their retreat, and at once, or at different times, is uncertain. Here they certainly settled; and built cities in memory of those that they left behind: a circumstance of all others the most natural, and of which we have many instances. Here they had a succession of kings, who were called the *Pastor Kings;* for all the *Cuseans* were *nomades* or shepherds. It is observable that, during their whole re-

sidence in this country, they seem to have been in perpetual fear of the *Assyrians.* They had one king in particular that was named *Salatis;* who is represented as very cautious and vigilant; placing garrisons in the most convenient places; but especially fortifying all to the east, for fear the *Assyrians* should form any dessign of making an attack upon them that way. [6] Φρουραν εν τοις επιτηδειοτατοις καταλειπων τοποις· μαλιστα δε και τα προς ανατολην ησφαλισατο μερη, προορωμενος Ασσυριων, τοτε μειζον ισχυοντων, εσομενην επιθυμιαν της αυτης βασιλειας εφοδε. In process of time this people was expelled from *Egypt:* and it is said at their departure, when upon a compromise they were obliged to leave the country, that they were greatly distressed where to betake themselves, for fear of the *Assyrians.* What other nation, but the sons of *Cush,* had any reason to be afraid of the *Assyrians?* And why should the *Cuseans* themselves be afraid of this people, unless, as I said before, they had been grievous aggressors; and *Babylon* was now in the hands of their enemies? The *Assyrian* was for many ages quiet: they contended not for empire till long after: and the first acts of violence began under [7] *Pul* of *Nineve,* and were continued by his successors. But in these early days there was nothing to be feared from that quarter,

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[6] *Manetb.* apud *Joseph.* contra Apion. lib. 1. §. 14.

[7] 2 *Kings.* 15. v. 19.

except by this nation of the *Cuseans*, who had made the *Assyrian* their professed enemy; from whose resentment they had fled; and within the verge of whose vengeance they were afraid of returning. From all which we may conclude, that *Babylon* at this time was not in the hands of the sons of *Chus*. They must have been ejected by the *Assyrians*; otherwise there would have been a safe retreat for this people to their original place of residence: they might at least have put themselves under the protection of their brethren; so that there could have been no grounds for their apprehensions. The *Assyrians* would have been too remote to have hurt them; as is evident from the situation of their country, that lay upon the upper part of the *Tigris*; between which and *Egypt* many nations intervened. The sons of *Ashur* must therefore have regained the place which was so unjustly held from them; and were in possession of [8] *Babylonia*. That this was the case, while the *Cuseans* were in *Egypt* may, I think, be farther proved; and their fears at their departure justified by a passage in the *Mosaic* history, which will give, and at the same time receive, much light by being compared with this extract from *Manetho*. We are informed [9] of a very early warfare, undertaken by four kings against many tributary

[8] *Ninus* conquered *Babylon*. *Diodor. Sic.* lib. 2. pag. 64.

[9] *Gen.* 14. v. 1. &c.

nations, that had withdrawn themselves from their allegiance: "And it came to pass in the days of "*Amraphel* king of *Shinar*, *Arioch* king of *Ellasar*, "*Chedorlaomer* king of *Elam*, and *Tidal* king of "nations; That these made war with *Bera* king of "*Sodom*, and with *Birsha* king of *Gomorrah*, *Shinab* "king of *Admah*, and *Shemeber* king of *Zeboiim*, "and the king of *Bela*, which is *Zoar*. All these "were joined together in the vale of *Siddim*, which "is the *Salt sea*. Twelve years they served *Chedor-* "*laomer*, and in the thirteenth year they rebelled. "And in the fourteenth year came *Chedorlaomer*, "and the kings that were with him, and smote the "*Rephaims* in *Ashteroth Karnaim*, and the *Zuzims* "in *Ham*, and the *Emims* in *Shaveh Kiriathaim*, "And the *Horites* in their mount *Seir* unto *El-paran*, "which is by the wilderness;—all the country of the "*Amalekites*, and also the *Amorites*, that dwelt in "*Hazezon-tamar*." We have here an account of an early and formidable confederacy of four potent princes in order to make war upon their tributaries, and to reduce them to their pristine obedience. This union seems to have been no other, than a grand alliance of the house of *Shem*. The king of *Elam* was confessedly of his lineage. *Arioch Melech Ellasar* is the same as *Arioch Melech al Asur*, and so it may be read; that is, "*Arioch* king of *Nineve*:" for both the country and the capital were called by that name: and *Mousul*, built on the ruins of *Nineve*, still retains it; if we may believe modern tra-

vellers, and especially *Benj. Tudelensis*, who terms it [10] *Al Assur*. As to any objection, that may be raised to this prince's being king of *Assyria*, because he is termed *Ellasar*, it amounts to nothing. [11] *Tiglath Pul Assur* is called *Tiglath-pileser*; and *Assur Adon*, that is, "the great lord *Assur*" is termed *Esar-haddon*: which is owing to the different manner of writing and pronouncing words in different ages; and that variation, which will sometimes arise through want of vowels in the *Hebrew*. *Ellasar*, like the words above, is somewhat diversified: yet is in reality the same as *Arioch Melech al Asur* or *Assur*, "*Arioch* the great *Assyrian*," the mighty prince of *Nineve*: and answers precisely to the *Arius*, [12] who stands fourth in the dynasties of *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and *Syncellus*. *Tidal* king of nations we may imagine was either of the line of *Arphaxad*, or of *Aram*: but of the two, the latter is the more probable. [13] Indeed it is in a manner confirmed by *Eupolemus*, who gives a particular account of this transaction; and mentions the exploit

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[10] *Benj. Tudelensis* Itinerar. pag. 61.

[11] 2 *Kings* 15. v. 19, 29.—19. v. 37. "Since the days of "*Esar-haddon* king of *Assur*," *Ezra*. 4. v. 2. called by the *Seventy*, Ασαραδαν.

[12] Of this *Arius* see *Pasch. Chron.* pag. 37. His true name was *Thyras*: he was the son of *Ninias*.

[13] *Theophilus* supposes these kings to come from *Chaldea* and *Assyria*; but is so confused, that little light can be obtained from what he says. *Theoph.* ad Autolycum. lib. 2. pag. 160.

of *Abraham* in recovering his brother *Lot*, who had been taken prisoner. He tells us that, after the patriarch had settled in *Canaan*, this war began: and he mentions the *Armenians*, that is, the sons of *Aram*, as principals in it: that they defeated their enemies, and took many prisoners; among others the brother of *Abraham*: that *Abraham* armed the servants of his household, and regained his brother and the other captives; and in his turn took prisoners the wives and children of the enemy. [14] Τρίτον δε Αρμενιας επιστρατευσαι τοις Φοινιξι· νικησαντων δε και αιχμαλωτισαμενων τον αδελφιδην αυτε, τον Αβρααμ μετα οικετων βοηθησαντα, εγκρατη γενεσθαι των αιχμαλωτισαμενων, και των πολεμιων αιχμαλωτισαι τεκνα και γυναικας. By this we find, that three of the principal branches of the house of *Shem* are represented as joining their forces with the king of *Shinaar*. Now it does not seem probable, that the sons of *Shem* should enter into an alliance with the chief of the family of *Ham* and *Chus*, who must necessarily have been their professed enemies. And it is still less probable, that the house of *Chus* should join themselves to that of *Shem*, in order to destroy the *Amalekites* and the *Amorites*, and the nations of *Canaan*, who were of the same lineage, that they were of themselves, all equally descended from *Ham*: between whom one would have imagined there had subsist-

[14] *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. lib. 9. cap. 17.

ed a natural alliance. We therefore can scarce suppose, that the king of *Shinaar* here mentioned was a *Cusean*, or a descendant from *Ham*. He was certainly descended from *Shem*: and *Babylon* must have been at this time in the hands of the *Assyrians*. From these premises, which I submit to the reader, I beg leave to draw up this historical epitome. The kings of *Elam*, and of *Assur* seem to have called in to their assistance another powerful prince, who was of the family of *Aram*, a collateral branch of *Shem*, in order to extirpate their common enemy. Which when they had effected, and driven the sons of *Chus* from *Shinaar* and *Babylon*, they placed a king of their own on the throne. His name was *Amraphel*: and to secure themselves from any future insults, they weakened every branch of them, and obliged the most distant to be tributaries. And upon their rising in rebellion thirteen years afterwards, they invaded their country with a powerful army, and destroyed or captivated all that they engaged with. Among others that they invaded, were the *Zuzim* in *Ham*, and the *Emim* in *Shaveh Kiriathaim*, and the *Horites* in mount *Seir* unto *El-paran*: likewise the *Amorites*, and *Amalekites*, all which were the descendants of *Ham*, and some of the family of *Chus*. From these circumstances laid together we may find out the true cause of this war, the most antient of any upon record; the occasion and grounds of which were never, that I know of explained. It is the

same, that is alluded to by *Eusebius*,[15] when he says, that the "*Chaldeans* came with an army against "the *Phenicians*:" which *Syncellus* likewise takes notice of; [16] Χαλδαιοι κατα Φοινικων εστρατευσαν. He calls them *Chaldeans*, and *Phenicians*: but what he alludes to, is this war of the confederates: for there is no other mentioned in history, to which it can possibly be referred. The *Grecians*, through ignorance of the places they treat of, especially if they are of high antiquity, seldom speak with exactness. Hence in this place, instead of the *Canaanites*, they have put the *Phenicians*; and have substituted the *Chaldeans* for the people of *Elam* and *Shinaar*. What *Eusebius* has preserved from *Eupolemus*, is a very curious fragment, and much to the present purpose. He mentions *Abraham* by name, and is very particular in the most interesting events of the war; but makes the sons of *Aram* the principals.

Whether we may date the time of the *Shepherds* first migration into *Egypt* from the æra of this war,

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[15] *Euseb.* Chronic. pag. 26.

[16] *Syncell.* pag. 153. He alludes to the same war in another place; where he is more particular, and mentions the very motives upon which it was first undertaken. He says that, after the death of *Canaan*, the family of *Shem* made an attack upon that part of the race of *Ham* which was in possession of *Palestine*, on account of their having usurped that country: Τῳ $\overline{\beta\omega\lambda\eta}$ ετει τε κοσμε, τε δε Φαλεκ $\overline{\xi\zeta}$. ετει, Καϊναν απεθανε· και οι υιοι τε Σεμ επολεμησαν προς τες υιες Χαμ περι των ὁριων της Παλαιστινης. pag. 90.

I cannot determine: it might have been a century before. Indeed, we cannot form a judgment of the time when the war commenced. Thus much, I think, we may be assured of, that it was undertaken on account of the sons of *Chus*, and their usurpations: and affords good reason for their fears and alarms, both during their residence in *Egypt;* and when, many years afterwards, they retired from it: for they were under great embarrassment at their departure, and knew not where to betake themselves for fear of the *Assyrians.* Now there is not upon record any other time in a period of above a thousand years, when the *Assyrians* were thus to be feared: nor any nation, but the *Cuseans*, that had any reason to dread them. The *Assyrians* and their allies seem to have made one great and effectual effort to rid them of a powerful enemy. This grand affair being finished, they lay quiet and peaceable for ages. There is no mention made of them for a vast interval: their name no where occurs; no more, than if they had been totally extinct. For which reason *Diodorus*, after mentioning some of their first princes, does not think it worth his while to give a list of those that succeeded, "because "they had never done any thing worthy of being "recorded;" [17] *δια το μηδεν υφ' αυτων πεπραχθαι μνημης*

[17] *Diod. Sic.* lib. 2. pag. 77.

αξιον.—[18] Το γαρ απολεμον τε, και αφιλοκινδυνον, και γυναικωδες, αυτοις ην ασφαλες. Ενδον γαρ εμενον, ουδε τι αυτοις ων εργον επρησσετο. Ουδε ἑωρα τις αυτους, πλην αἰ τε παλλακιδες, και των ανδρων οἱ γυναικωδεις.

Thus much farther light may, I think, be obtained in respect to this great occurrence: that, though the *Cuseans* were perhaps settled in *Egypt* before the æra of this war, or this concluding part of it; yet there might have been from hence a great accession to their numbers. They were probably joined by other nations, that took shelter in this country; particularly the *Horites* and *Amalekites*, who were driven by the same tempest, and involved in the like calamity. Hence arose the tradition among the *Arabians* that the [19] *Amalekites* conquered *Egypt*. This war had probably been of long continuance: and the Scripture seems to intimate as much: though it gives an account of the finishing part only. There is, I am afraid, too much reason to think that war commenced, as soon as nations were constituted. The Scripture speaks of the king of *Elam* as principal: the *Assyrians* have taken the chief merit of it to themselves: and the sons of *Aram*, according to *Eupolemus*, made the same claim. So early was the pride of conquest. It is plain from the history of this war, as it is given us by *Moses*, that some nota-

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[18] *Cephalæon* apud Euseb. Chron. pag. 30.

[19] *Al Soyuli*. See Universal Hist. Book. I. cap. 3. sect. VI.

ble occurrences had preceded: which, not relating to the grand scheme of Providence that was carrying on, are omitted by the divine historian. We find, that great animosities had subsisted among particular nations; that some had been put under contributions: that they had been tributaries several years: which could not have been effected without armies taking the field, and some struggles for liberty, before such service could have been imposed. *Josephus*[20] and the later historians speak of this as a *pentapolitan* war; and consider it as carried on chiefly, if not solely, with the five princes of the *Asphaltic* vale. But they were but an inconsiderable part of it; and were taken in towards the close, after a grand sweep of many, and far more powerful, nations.

This seems to have been the war, and these the conquests of the *Assyrians*, so often alluded to, and so greatly magnified by the antients: which, without doubt, were very considerable. The whole of these transactions is in general attributed to *Ninus*, who took *Babylon*: but the chief part may with more propriety be ascribed to *Arioch*; of whose fame there are many, though obscure, traces. He probably finished, what was begun by *Ninus*. He was called *Bel Arioch*, or *Belus the lion*, from a word of that signification: and by the *Greeks* he is men-

[20] Ant. Jud. lib. 1. cap. 9.

tioned under the title of Βηλος Αρειος, or *Belus Martius;* for Αρης, *Mars,* is from אר, a lion. We are informed by *Cedrenus,* that one of the early successors to [21] *Ninus* was called *Thouros:* that he was the son of *Zames,* the same as *Ninyas:* that his father gave him the name of *Ares;* but that the people called him *Baal,* and payed him divine honours. All which relates to *Arius;* for he was the son of *Zames.* [22] Μετα Νινον—Θωρος των Ασσυριων βασιλευει. Τουτον ὁ πατηρ αυτου Ζαμις—Αρεα εκαλεσεν.—Τουτῳ τῳ Αρει πρωτην στηλην ανεστησαν οἱ Ασσυριοι, και ὡς θεον προσκυνουσι, Βααλ ονομαζοντες. This is a very curious piece of history, that *Cedrenus* has preserved in memory of this antient hero, the son of *Zames,* and grandson of *Ninus:* who is supposed by [23] *Marsham* to have been the Ζευς Ενυαλιος of [24] *Hestiæus.* We learn from it, besides the historical account, that [25] *Belus, Bel,* and *Baal* were properly the name of a deity, but assumed by men as a title. It explains

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[21] *Ninus, Semiramis, Zames* or *Ninyas, Arius. Euseb.* and *Syncellus.*

[22] *Cedren.* Compend. Historiar. p. 16. edit. Paris. 1647.

[23] Canon Chronic. ad sec. I. pag. 32.

[24] See *Joseph.* Ant. Jud. lib. 1. cap. 4.

[25] Μετα δε Νινον εβασιλευσεν Ασσυριων Θωρας ονοματι, ὁντινα μετωνομασεν ὁ τουτου πατηρ Ζαμης—Αρεα. Ουτος εγενετο πικρος πολεμιστης. *Chron. Pasch.* pag. 37. Αλκης μεν και ῥωμης συμβολον αυτοις ὁ λεων. *Clem. Alex.* Strom. lib. 5. p. 567. Hence all the *Persian* names in *Arez.*

the meaning of θηρος αρης, and μνησασθε δε θηριδος αλκης, which occur so often in *Homer:* and we may learn from it, that the meaning of the word *Arioch* is *Ouc Ares*, "the mighty lion;" or, according to the later acceptation of it, "the great god of "war."

There is a passage in *Diodorus*[16] *Siculus*, which relates to this war; but is mentioned in a very confused manner. He makes *Ninus* very truly the invader of the *Babylonians*, but joins him with the *Arabians*, whose king he calls *Ariæus:* by which means he has perplexed both the time and order of history. *Ariæus*, or, as he is otherwise called, *Arius* was certainly an *Assyrian;* and a successor of *Ninus:* and the *Arabians* were the very people, that the *Assyrians* attacked. The king of *Babylonia* was of the posterity of *Nimbrod* and *Cush*, the great heads of the people called afterwards *Arabians:* for as yet there was hardly any nation of that name: and if there were, yet it is scarce credible, that they should be engaged against their own people, and in alliance with their enemy the *Assyrian.* When therefore it is mentioned by *Diodorus*, that *Ninus* marched to *Babylonia*, τον δυναστευοντα των Αραβων παραλαβων, "taking with him "the king of the *Arabians;*" it should be corrected from *Eupolemus* before quoted, and the true

[16] *Diodorus Sic.* lib. 2. pag. 64.

reading will be found των Αραμων, "being joined by "the king of *Aram*," his neighbour and natural ally. In like manner, instead of Αραβιας [27] in another place, the word Αραμιας should be substituted; which was doubtless the reading that occurred in the original history, from whence that of *Diodorus* was copied. The *Greeks* knew nothing of *Aram* or *Aramia*; and therefore altered to *Arabian* and *Arabia*, what came under that article. But the true reading, I think, may be proved, both from the tenor of the Scripture history, and from the evidence of *Eupolemus*. *Tidal* is by the *Greek Scholiast* called βασιλευς Παμφυλιας, and in the *Samaritan*, the king of the *Chammin*: but in the original, "*Tidal* king of nations." This seems to be a *Hebrew* expression, analogous to that of *Isaiah*, [28] where the country above *Jordan* is called "*Galilee* of the nations." It is quoted by St. *Matthew*: [29] Γη Ζαβυλων και γη Νεφθαλειμ, ὁδον θαλασσης, περαν του Ιορδανου, Γαλιλαια των εθνων, by some interpreted, *Galilæa populosa*. It was indeed populous; but that is not the circumstance intimated here: and it is more properly rendered in the *English* version, "*Galilee* of the *Gentiles*." It was more mixed with foreigners and aliens, than

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[27] *Diodorus Sic.* lib. 2. pag. 64.

[28] Chap. 9. v. 1.

[29] Chap. 4. v. 15.

the other parts of the *Jewish* territories: and seems on that account to have been abhorred by those of *Jerusalem*, who would not allow any good thing to proceed from it. [30] " Search and look: for out of " *Galilee* ariseth no prophet." *Josephus* speaking of upper and lower *Galilee* says, that they were surrounded with strange tribes and nations; [31] εθνεσιν αλλοφυλοις κεκυκλωμεναι. But this was not all: they were certainly mixed with them; as was likewise *Cæsarea*, though not in *Galilee*. The first occasion of the war with the *Romans* arose from a quarrel [32] between the *Syrians* and *Jews* of that place. It was upon the same account that *Galilee* was called by the like title in *Maccabees*; [33] Επισυνηχθαι ἐπ' αυτες εκ Πτολεμαϊδος και Τυρε και Σιδωνος και πασης Γαλιλαιας αλλοφυλων: in our translation— " They of *Ptolemaïs*, and of *Tyrus*, and *Sidon*, " and all *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*." In consequence of this mixture the people of these parts were to be distinguished by their manner of speaking, either the tone or dialect. The man in the Gospel says to St. *Peter*, [34] και γαρ Γαλιλαιος ει, και ἡ λαλια σε ὁμοιαζει. I have dwelt upon these circumstances; because some persons, among whom

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[30] *John*. 7. v. 52.

[31] *Joseph*. de Bell. Jud. lib. 3. cap. 3.

[32] Ibid. lib. 2. cap. 13.

[33] 1 *Maccab*. 5. v. 15.

[34] *Mark*. 14. v. 70.

is the learned *Grotius*, have imagined that *Tidal* was king of *Galilee*, merely from his being termed "king of nations." He must at this rate have been a *Canaanite*, and at the same time warred upon the *Canaanites*, in confederacy with princes of another race: which is not probable. But there is not the least ground for the supposition. He was king of *Aram:* and his kingdom, or at least his army, did not consist of one people or family, like that of *Elam* or *Ashur;* but was made up of different tribes. Some of them possibly were of the sons of *Japhet*, of the race of *Tubal* and *Meshech*, called afterwards the *Moschi* and *Tibareni;* who bordered upon the sons of *Aram*, and might be confederate with them. The mixture of nations in *Galilee* was in consequence of the captivity of the ten tribes; and the captivity of *Judah* afterwards. It began then to admit foreigners: but in the days of *Tidal* it was occupied by the *Canaanite*, and uniformly peopled.

OF

THE DEPARTURE

OF THE

FIRST SHEPHERDS FROM EGYPT,

AND OF

THE AMALEKITES.

WE are informed by *Manetho*, that after a long series of tyranny and oppression the *Cuseans* were at last opposed by the joint forces of *Egypt*, and were forced to retreat before them. They were first discomfited by king *Misphragmuthosis*, and driven to their city *Avaris*: where they were beleaguered by *Amosis* or *Thummosis*, the son of the former prince; who streightened them very much. This place, where they were shut up, is said to have been 10000 arouras in [1] circumference: which

[1] According to *Strabo*, vol. 2. pag. 1136. *Egypt* was divided into provinces, toparchies, and other smaller portions, of which the aroura was the least. It was a square of 100 *Egyptian* cubits; and contained 33269.76 *English* square feet. *Herodotus*, lib. 2. cap. 168. says, that the *Calasirian* soldiers had each al-

would turn out a prodigious extent. But the *Egyptian* aroura was a square superficial measure:

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lotted to him 12 arouras of land; amounting according to Bp. *Cumberland* to 9 *English* acres, and 165 millesimals, or one tenth of an acre. I imagine therefore, that *Josephus* is not understood in what he says; and that the passage, αρυρων εχοντα μυριων την περιμετρον, means a circumference, that contained so many portions of land: for it is plain, that among the *Egyptians* the aroura was a square piece of ground, a measure of superficial quantity, and not a measure of length and distance. They measured great intervals by cubits and schœni. Sir *John Marsham*, and they, who follow him, do not see what absurdities their opinion is attended with. He supposes the place of this extent to have been *Pelusium*. *De Pelusio autem nullum est dubium. Munimentum hoc, omnium vetustissimum—Præsidium ei impositum est militum* 240000. *Paulo post Manetho ponit hunc locum* αρυρων εχοντα μυριων την περιμετρον—*Quodlibet quadrati latus fuerit* 2500 *jugerum; area* 6250000. sec. VIII. pag. 109. This learned man has given an extent to *Pelusium*, which not only no city, but few provinces were equal to. If we except *Egypt*, I question whether in those times there was a kingdom upon earth of that bigness. An aroura was 100 cubits: and if we suppose these cubits to be the same as the cubit of *Cairo*=21 inches, 2500 arouras, or one side of the city, amounts to 82 *English* miles; and the circumference to 328. A square of these dimensions could not stand in lower *Egypt*. And fashion it any way, that it may be comprehended; and measure it by any cubit: still it will be too large for any camp, and much more for a city. Such an inclosure, which is supposed to have been in the *Sethroïte* nome, would take in not only that nome, but seven nomes at least out of the ten, which were in the *Deltoïd* triangle. The cubit of *Cairo* is properly 21.880 *English* inches. See *Arbuthnot's* Tables, pag. 66.

and it is not probable, that it was here intended for a measure in length. When *Josephus* therefore, or *Manetho* says, [2] αρεραν εχοντα μυριων την περιμετρον; there is great reason to think, that in the original an inclosure was meant by that expression; and that the square surface amounted to the number of arouras specified. Now 10000 *Egyptian* arouras might be a district about three miles square: and probably was the amount of that part of the province of *Cushan*, which was called by the *Greeks Phaccusa:* the same, that had been their original place of residence, and which they made their last retreat. Here they were closely pressed; and after a siege of some time, they were reduced to a state of capitulation. The only terms, which the enemy would allow them, were that they should be permitted to retire unmolested, if they would immediately quit the country. They acceded to the terms; and forthwith evacuated the land of *Egypt*, which according to *Manetho* they had been in possession of above 500 years [3].

I have mentioned, how great their alarms were in respect to the *Assyrians*, during their abode in *Egypt*. As they formed a large body at their departure, they were still afraid, that they might

[2] *Josephus* contra Apion. lib. 1. §. 14.

[3] In the term of 500 years, I imagine, is comprehended the time of the twofold race of *Shepherds* in *Egypt*, though not distinguished by *Manetho*.

awaken the jealousy of their antient enemies; especially, as every step they took, they advanced towards them. They therefore do not seem to have proceeded far; and there is great reason to think, that they took up their residence among the *Amalekites*, and the sons of *Caphtor* in [4] *Philistim*, and among the nations upon the *Red Sea*: from whence they extended themselves to the remoter parts of *Arabia*. The *Arabians* call the people, who conquered *Egypt*, *Amalekites*: and there were probably many of that tribe among them. This nation has been by many represented as the descendants from *Esau*; being reputed the posterity of *Eliphaz* his firstborn, who had [5] *Amalek* by *Timna* the *Horite*. This is one of those strange suppositions, for which there is no accounting. Yet it is Mr. *Sale*'s [6] opinion, and in some degree the opinion of the learned [7] *Reland*. But it is intirely

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[4] *Polemo*, stiled Στηλοκοπα, who lived in the time of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, and is quoted by *Africanus*, affirms that some forces withdrew out of *Egypt*, and settled in *Palestine* upon the borders of *Arabia*, in the time of *Apis* the son of *Phoroneus*. *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. lib. 10. cap. 10. *Marsham* supposes this to have been 272 years before the *Exodus*.

[5] *Gen.* 36. v. 12.

[6] Universal History. Book. I. chap. 5. sect. 5.

[7] *Amalec ipse*, עמלק, *unde et gentis et terræ nomen defluxit, nepos erat Esavi ex filio Eliphaz et concubinâ Thamnâ.* Palæstina. lib. 1. cap. 14.

groundless. The *Amalekites* were a very antient nation; and engaged in the first warfare, that is recorded. They were far [8] prior to *Eliphaz*, or to *Esau:* and were a people before the birth of *Abraham.* Their name occurs very frequently in the sacred writings; which renders their history very plain: and when they are represented as attacking the children of *Israel* in *Rephidim*, they are particularly distinguished from the posterity of *Esau.* [9] "And the Lord said unto *Moses*, Write this for "a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears "of *Joshua:* for I will utterly put out the re- "membrance of *Amalek* from under heaven.— "The Lord hath sworn, that the Lord will have "war with *Amalek* from generation to generation." [10] "Remember what *Amalek* did unto thee by the "way when ye were come forth out of *Egypt.*— "Thou shalt blot out the remembrance of *Amalek* "from under heaven; thou shalt not forget it." Not so with *Edom:* he is more respected and distinguished: and strict injunctions were given, that he might not be molested. [11] "Command thou "the people, saying, Ye are to pass through the "coast of your brethren the children of *Esau*,

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[8] *Clerici* Comment. in Pentateuch. *ad Gen.* 14. v. 7. *et Num.* 24. v. 20.

[9] *Exod.* 17. v. 14, 16.

[10] *Deuteron.* 25. v. 17, 19.

[11] Ibid. 2. v. 4, 5, &c.

" which dwell in *Seir;* and they shall be afraid of " you: take ye good heed unto yourselves there- " fore.—Meddle not with them: &c." [12] " Thou " shalt not abhor an *Edomite;* for he is thy bro- " ther." How is it possible, that these things could be said of one and the same people? and they must have been the same people, if the *Amalekites* were from the firstborn of *Esau.* They must likewise have been a very recent nation: whereas the *Amalekites* are spoken of as of antient date. For when the *Israelites* pitched in the plains of *Moab, Amalek* is mentioned as [13] " the first of " the nations," though the time was to come, when he was to " perish for ever." The princes of this nation were called *Agag,* from whence the people were denominated *Agagites;* a name no ways applicable to the sons of *Edom:* and their kingdom was so powerful, that it was prophesied of the house of *Israel,* [14] " his king shall be higher than *Agag:* " and his kingdom shall be exalted." The good bishop *Cumberland,* among others, takes much pains to set all this aside; merely because there was a man in aftertimes, whose name was *Amalek.* He takes it for granted, without the least evidence to support him in his notion, that this person gave

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[12] *Deuteron.* 23. v. 7. *Numbers.* 20. v. 14, &c.

[13] *Numbers.* 24. v. 20.

[14] Ibid. v. 7.

name to a nation, which is mentioned some centuries before his birth. [15] "*Amalek was the first* "*of the nations;* that is," says the bishop, "one "of the earliest plantations: and accordingly we "find *Amalekites* named by *prolepsis* among the "people invaded by *Chederlaomer*, *Gen.* 14. 7. "and placed about *Kadesh* and *Hazezon-tamar*, "which lay within the *Horites* territory. *Amalek*, "*Esau*'s grandchild, was not then born: but that "country in *Moses*'s time being under *Amalek*'s "posterity, is called *Amalek:* and so I conceive "that *Balaam* meant, that the kingdom, which in "his time was under *Amalek*, was an antient "kingdom even before *Amalek* was born." What unnecessary pains are here taken to perplex a plain and precise piece of history! At this rate, what can we depend upon for a certainty? what is there so express and determinate, but may be set aside by this evasive manner of interpretation? According to the bishop's notion, all is to go for nothing, that *Moses* has here told us. When *Chederlaomer* smote the country of the *Amalekites*, there was no such people. When the prophet looked on *Amalek* and said, *Amalek was the first of the nations*, it was only by anticipation; for the *Amalekites* were not in being at the time alluded to: so that it related to another people. But with due deference to this

[15] Origines Gent. Antiquissimæ. pag. 139.

excellent prelate, this is a dangerous way of proceeding; as we can never at this rate have any sure grounds to go upon. A plain narrative is hereby embarrassed; and we are robbed of that confidence, which we may implicitly repose in the words of *Moses*. How does it follow, if a person chances to be of the same name, as a nation or tribe, that he must necessarily be the father of that tribe or nation? or at least, that he must give name to that body of men, and to the country, which they possess? It is notorious that there are innumerable instances to the contrary. Yet upon such a notion, backed with no show of authority, is this hypothesis founded; and the plain evidence of the sacred writer set aside. Thus we balance a feather against a talent of gold, and blindly fancy that it preponderates. The *Amalekites* were certainly a people of the highest antiquity. The founder of this nation, according to the *Arab* historians, was the fifth from [16] *Ham*. *Noah*, *Cham*, *Aram* or *Aran*, *Hutz* or *Uz*, *Ad* called *Aad*, *Amalek*. *Ad* the father of *Amalek* is reported to have been a person of great renown. His [17] name appears to

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[16] *Relandi* Palæstina. lib. 1. cap. 14.

[17] *Ad* signifies both a prince and a deity. In *Phenicia* they called the sun *Adad* and *Achad*: the former is translated from *Sanchoniatho* Βασιλευς βασιλεων, *the king of kings*: the latter is *Uc* or *Ouc Ad*, a title which I have sufficiently explained. See *Euseb*. Præp. Evang. lib. 1. cap. 10; and *Voss*. de Orig. et

have been after his death taken by many [18] princes as an honourable title. The *Horites* of *Seir*, whence *Eliphaz* took *Timna* his concubine, seem to have been of the *Amalekitish* race: and, as it is usual in families to keep up the memory of their forefathers by calling some of the posterity by their names; so among the sons of *Seir* the *Horite* we find the names of two of *Amalek*'s ancestors retained: which in some degree may authenticate this genealogy, that the *Arabians* present us with. The sons of [19] *Dishon*, who was the son of *Seir*, were *Uz* and *Aran*: which being the names of two of *Amalek*'s ancestors seem to point out that the *Horites* were of the same original. It is to be observed, that this *Seir* the *Horite*, with whose family the sons of *Edom* seem to have made a close alliance, is distinguished in a particular manner by *Moses*: for he is the only person, not immediately of patriarchic descent, that has his posterity in its different branches recorded.

Ham we find in many instances was pronounced

Progr. Idololatr. lib. 1. cap. 22. *Macrobius* Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 23. gives a different interpretation.

[18] *Hadad*, *Bedad*, *Benhadad*, *Hadadezer*. One of the chief cities upon the *Red Sea* near *Midian* was *Adad*. *Ptolemy*, lib. 6. All these names seem to have been compounded from *Ad*, and *Aad*. *Hadad* an *Edomite* is mentioned 1 *Kings*. 11. v. 14. See *Pocock*'s Specimen Hist. Arab. pag. 2. with his note at pag. 35.

[19] *Gen.* 36. v. 28. 1 *Chron.* 1. v. 42. *Gen.* 36. v. 20.

Cham, and probably *Chem:* as several places, that took their name from him in *Egypt*, were called [20] *Chemmis*. Hence it is, that in the above genealogy, some have by mistake altered his name to *Shem*, and supposed *Amalek* to be descended from that branch of *Noah:* on which account the name of *Chus* is likewise omitted. This mistake appeared more plausible from *Aram* being the next in order; as *Shem* had a son of that name. [21] *Fuitque Aad filius Arami, filius Semi, filius Noæ.* But there is reason to think, that the true name of this person was *Aran:* and it was *Chem* or *Cham* that was the ancestor of the people spoken of: and next to him was *Chus*, though omitted in the recital. This mistake in mentioning one of the sons of *Noah* for another occurs too often. In the *Paschal Chronicle, Chus* is said to be the son of *Shem:* [22] εκ της φυλης τε Σημ, Χες ονοματι κ. τ. λ. for Χημ or Χαμ. In like manner *Syncellus;* [23] Ἰσεον δε ὁτι οἱ Χαλδαιοι απο τε Σημ καταγονται, εξ ὡν ὁ Αβρααμ. It should have been απο τε Χημ or Χαμ. He mistook *Shem* for *Cham;* and in consequence of it has made *Abraham* a *Chaldean* by blood as well as by country.

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[20] See page 102. note 6.

[21] *Eutychii* Annales, interpr. Pocockio. tom. 1. pag. 60.

[22] *Chron. Pasch.* pag. 36. See *Vossius* de Orig. et Progr. Idol. lib. 1. cap. 24.

[23] *Syncelli* Chron. pag. 98.

There is another passage in the *Paschal Chronicle*, as erroneous as the former. [24] Εκ δε της αυτης φυλης τε Σημ της κρατησασης Συριαν—τε πρωτε υἱε τε Νωε εγεννηθη και ανεφανη ανθρωπος γιγαντογενης, ονοματι Κρονος. The person he alludes to, is *Nimbrod*, whom he represents as of the line of *Shem*: and makes *Shem* the eldest of the sons of *Noah*: whose posterity he says conquered *Syria*. But *Syria* they had by allotment: and *Shem* was not the eldest: for the Scripture mentions him as the brother of *Japhet* the elder.

These mistakes, though very capital, occur frequently in the later *Greek* historians: particularly in *John Malala*, and writers of his stamp. One instance will give an idea of his merit, as it contains a complication of blunders. [25] Εν δε τοις χρονοις τε Αβρααμ εβασιλευσεν Ασσυριων ὁ εκ της φυλης τε Σημ Ναραχω. "In the days of *Abraham*, *Naracho* "was king of the *Assyrians*, who was of the fa- "mily of *Shem*:"—instead of, Αιγυπτιων ὁ εκ της φυλης τε Χαμ Ναχω; "*Necho*, of the race of *Ham*, "was king of *Egypt*." His meaning in this passage cannot be mistaken; and the whole of it must relate to *Egypt*: for he mentions the history of *Joseph*; and absurdly says, that *Naracho*'s cook bought *Joseph* of the *Saracens*.

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[24] *Chron. Pasch.* pag. 92.

[25] *Malalæ* Chron. pag. 71. Oxon. 1691.

OF

SOME ATTEMPTS

OF

THE CUSEANS UPON EGYPT,

AFTER THEY HAD LEFT IT.

AFTER the retreat of the *Cuseans* from *Egypt*, they seem to have soon recollected themselves; and in the next reign they again invaded the [1] country. This shews, that they did not betake themselves to any considerable distance. They had a hard struggle for thirteen years; when fortune declared against them; and they were obliged finally to retreat. The *Egyptians*, provoked at this unexpected inroad, resolved to be aggressors in their turn; and accordingly levied an army, and attacked the *Cuseans* upon their own [2] ground. This war is termed by the *Greeks* the war against the *Ethiopians:* under which name I have shewn

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[1] *Manetho* apud. Joseph. contra Apion. lib. 1. §. 26, 27.

[2] *Chron. Alexandr.* ad annum XXXI Mosis. pag. 148.

that they always mention the *Cuseans*. It is probable, that the *Israelites* had some share in it. The sacred writers say nothing of this affair; it being a circumstance not at all relating to the grand scope and purpose of the Scriptures; but belonging rather to the *Egyptian* history, than to that of the sons of *Israel*. *Artapanus* however and [3] *Josephus* mention, that the conduct of this war was intrusted to *Moses*: and they are followed in this history by *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras*. They tell the particulars of it: that [4] *Moses* passed a desert to attack the *Ethiopians*; which desert was full of serpents: that he came up to them, and defeated them; and afterwards married a daughter of a prince of the country. These *Ethiopians* were certainly *oriental*: and though the circumstances are somewhat obscure; yet the desert, which he passed to the attack, and the wife, he married, who was a *Cusean*, the daughter of a prince of *Midian*, point out the enemy, he was engaged with, and certify the particular race. He could not attack these *Ethiopians*, as they are styled, without passing a desert: and though other wilds might abound with

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[3] Antiq. Jud. lib. 2. cap. 10.

[4] This piece of history is rejected by *Theodoret*, Interrog. 22. in Num. but without reason. If we admit nothing for truth, but what is in the Scriptures, we shall abridge ourselves of many and great helps towards their illustration.

venomous reptiles, yet the *Arabian* [5] sands were particularly famous on that account. [6] "Beware "that thou forget not the Lord thy God," said *Moses* to the *Israelites*, "which brought thee forth "out of the land of *Egypt*, from the house of "bondage; Who led thee through that great and "terrible wilderness, wherein were fiery serpents, "and scorpions, and drought, where there was no "water." It was a part of this same wilderness, which *Moses* passed with his army: and they were the *Cusean* and *Amalekitish* [7] nations, which he invaded. This was perhaps one reason, why the *Amalekites*, when the children of *Israel* afterwards were passing the wilderness of *Sin*, fell unexpectedly on their rear, and harassed them in their march; so that they brought them ill prepared for it to a [8] pitched battle. And long after, whilst the nation of *Amalek* existed, they took every opportunity of confederating against the people of *Israel*, and dis-

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[5] Of these sands and the serpents in them, see *Strabo*, vol. 2. pag. 1155. *Prosper Alpinus* de morbis Ægyptiorum, lib. 4. cap. 9. *Lucan*, lib. 9. *Herodotus*, lib. 2. cap. 75. and *Pliny*.

[6] *Deut.* 8. v. 11, &c.

[7] *Zonaras* supposes, that they were the *occidental Ethiopians*, with whom *Moses* was engaged; and that he took their capital *Saba*. lib. 1. cap. 12. But *Saba*, were this circumstance true, was well known to have been a city in *Arabia felix*, and appertained to the *Ethiopians* of the *east*; that is, to the *Arabians*.

[8] *Exod.* 17. v. 8.

tressing them every way: till they were theirselves reduced to the last extremity by *Saul* and *David*; and finally ruined by *Hezekiah* king of [9] *Judah*. Nor did their inveteracy cease with their nation: as long as any survived of the old stock, wherever scattered and removed, they still contrived mischief to the *Jews*: and at one time were well nigh retaliating all, that they had suffered from them: the whole of the surviving race of *Israel* being brought to the very brink of ruin by the wicked suggestions of [10] *Haman*, who was an *Agagite*. The danger was so imminent and immediate, and the mischief so narrowly escaped; that the *Jews* still hold an annual feast in commemoration of their great deliverance.

I have more than once taken notice of the alarms and anxiety of the *Cuseans*, while they were in *Egypt*. As soon as they were departed, the *Egyptians* seem to have lapsed into the same suspicions and fears. It is remarkable, that *Joseph*, in his first interview with his brethren in *Egypt*, repeatedly tells them that they are spies. [11] "Ye are spies; "to see the nakedness of the land ye are come."

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[9] *Saul* defeated the *Amalekites*, 1 *Sam.* 14. v. 48. & chap. 15. *David* defeated them, 1 *Sam.* 30. v. 11, &c. 2 *Sam.* 1. v. 1. *Hezekiah* finally ruined them, 1 *Chron.* 4. v. 39, &c.

[10] *Esther* 3. v. 8.

[11] *Gen.* 42. v. 9.

And, [12] "That is it that I spake unto you, saying, "Ye are spies [13]." Although he knew them, and only affected to speak in this manner, yet it must be imagined, that he spoke the language of the times; and that such suspicions and jealousies were not uncommon among the *Egyptians* Now almost all nations in those days, particularly those of *Canaan*, who were the nearest, were so small and circumscribed, that it was impossible they could give uneasiness to so powerful a kingdom, as *Egypt*. [14] *In Asiâ regna vetustissima sunt angustissima.—Urbes singulæ suos habebant* τοπαρχας. [15] *Strabo* says the same: Τοπαλαιον μεν ουν οι Αραδιοι καθ' αυτες εβασιλευοντο παραπλησιως, ωσπερ και των αλλων εκαστη πολεων των Φοινικιδων. One prince of that country, and of no great extent of province, is said to have had seventy vassal kings [16]. A people so numerous, and every way so secured as the *Egyptians*, (δυσεισβολος πανταχοθεν Αιγυπτος) could not have entertained any fears about such puny states. Their jealousies and alarms must have been on account of some more powerful enemy, whose strength, and whose hostile inclination they had experienced. In short, it could be no other nation than the *Cu-*

[12] *Gen.* 42. v. 14.

[13] See *Cumberland's* Sanchoniatho. pag. 384.

[14] *Marsham.* Canon. Chron. sec. v. pag. 76.

[15] *Strabo.* vol. 2. pag. 1094.

[16] *Judges.* 1. v. 7.

seans; who were in the vicinity of *Egypt*, and always ready to take every opportunity to molest it. By this means we may explain the words of *Joseph;* which undoubtedly were not thrown out at random; but had some allusion to the times, and were uttered with a particular reference to the circumstances of the country.

OF THE

EDOMITES AND PHENICIANS.

AFRICANUS styles the shepherds, that were in *Egypt*, *Phenicians:* by which circumstance many have been misled. This I wonder at: for though there is a difference in the name of the people, yet one and the same nation is meant. The true *Phenicians* were the sons of *Esau*, who was called [a] *Edom:* and they settled first at mount *Seir;* and upon the *Red Sea*, which received its name from them. Both *Phoinic* and *Edom* signify *red;* which the *Greeks* changed to *Erythrus*, a word of the same meaning. They appear to have been a very great and knowing people: and though there are no annals of their nation remaining; and their history is very obscure; yet so far we may learn in general, that they were very rich and powerful; carrying on an extensive traffic in the sea, which they lived upon, and a great way farther; engrossing all the trade of the east. Their character must have been very respectable: for the prophets men-

[a] *Genesis* 25. v. 30.

tion [2] "The wise men out of *Edom*, and under-
"standing out of the mount of *Esau*; And thy
"mighty men, O *Teman*." [3] "Concerning *Edom*,
"thus saith the Lord of hosts; Is wisdom no more
"in *Teman?* is counsel perished from the prudent?
"is their wisdom vanished?" And so truly noble and royal do they seem to have been, that the prophet *Isaiah* borrows his ideas from their supposed dignity and appearance; when he mystically describes our Saviour in his state of manhood, making his glorious advances upon earth. [4] "Who is this
"that cometh from *Edom*, with dyed garments
"from *Bozrah?* this that is glorious in his ap-
"parel, travelling in the greatness of his strength?
"I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save."
This people in process of time got possession of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and the adjacent country; which was called from them *Phenicia*: but how early they settled here, is uncertain. They sent out many colonies: and traces of them are to be found, as far as *Gades* and *Tartessus*. *Herodotus* mentions, that they came originally from the *Red Sea*.
[5] Ουτοι δε οι Φοινικες το παλαιον οικιον, ως αυτοι λεγουσι, επι τη Ερυθρη Θαλασσῃ· ενθευτεν δε υπερβαντες της Συριης

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[2] *Obadiah* v. 8, 9.
[3] *Jeremiah* 49. v. 7.
[4] *Isaiah* 63. v. 1.
[5] *Herodotus* lib. 7. cap. 89.

οικεισι το παρα θαλασσαν. [6] Τυτες γαρ [Φοινικας] απο της Ερυθρης καλεομενης θαλασσης απικομενους. But the best account of them is in the poet [7] *Dionysius*; who celebrates them for their ingenuity and knowledge; mentions the chief places where they settled; and speaks of them, as the first merchants upon the earth:

Οι δ', αλος εγγυς εοντες, επωνυμιην Φοινικες,
Των δ' ανδρων γενεης οι Ερυθραιοι γεγαασιν,
Οι πρωτοι νηεσσιν επειρησαντο θαλασσης,
Πρωτοι δ' εμπορικης αλιδινεος εμνησαντο,
Και βαθυν ουρανιων αερων πορον εφρασσαντο.
Οι τ' Ιοπην, και Γαζαν, Ελαϊδα τ' εννασσι,
Και Τυρον ωγυγιην, Βηρυτα τ' αιαν εραννην,
Βυβλον τ' αγχιαλον, και Σιδονα ανθεμοεσσαν.

Those, who settled at *Gades* and the remoter parts of *Spain*, carried thither many memorials of their original country; particularly the name of *Edom*, by translation *Erythra*, which they conferred on that part, where they inhabited; and especially on an island, mentioned by *Pliny*[8]. *Erythia dicta*

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[6] *Herodotus* lib. 1. cap. 1.

[7] Περιηγ. v. 905.

[8] *Plin.* Nat. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 22. *Strab.* vol. 1. pag. 257. *Fest. Avieni* Orbis Terr. Descr. v. 1063.

Hi Rubro a littore quondam
Mutavere domos. ——— *Quam* [*insulam*]
Tyrii a Rubro profecti mari Erythræam nominarunt. *Solin.* cap. 26.

est, quoniam Tyrii, aborigines eorum, orti ab Erythræo mari ferebantur. The original *Phenicians* therefore were the people of *Edom;* who lived near the *Arabians* and *Amalekites*, and intermarried with their families, and are often confounded with them. They seem to have carried their knowledge with them, wherever they settled; and there are continued allusions in Scripture to their wisdom and experience. [9] "And *Hamath* also shall border "thereby; *Tyrus* and *Zidon*, though it be very "wise." The *Carthaginians* are represented as a knowing and politic people. It is remarkable, that their chief city *Carthage* was originally called *Bosra*, the name of the capital of *Edom.* Their language too was a [10] dialect of the *Hebrew:* and the above city is said by *Philistus* to have been built by *Esor*, to whom he subjoins one *Carchedon* of *Tyre.* [11] Καρχηδονα φησι Φιλιστος κτισθηναι υπο Εζωρ και Καρχηδονος των Τυριων. Possibly *Spain* might receive the name of *Iberia* from them; who, when they settled in the parts particularly so called, were distinguished by their most ancient family name עברי *Ebræi.* The original name of the river *Iberus* seems to have been the *Eber*, called at present *Ebro.* They settled in many parts of this country,

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[9] *Zech.* 9. v. 2.

[10] *Plauti* Pœnulus. Act. 5. Scc. 1. *Bochart* Geogr. Sacr. pars post. lib. 2. cap. 1.

[11] *Eusch.* Chron. Can. pag. 31.

but chiefly, as I have shewn, near *Gades*: and it is observable, that here was the principal seat of the *Iberi*, placed by *Stephanus Byzantinus* προς ταις Ἡρακλειαις στηλαις; and mentioned by *Dionysius* in the same situation,

[12] Αγχι στηλαων μεγαθυμων εθνος Ιβηρων.

The *Iberians* therefore appear to have been the same nation as the *Erythreans* or *Edomites*; who came from *Tyre*, and were generally mentioned by the name of *Phenicians*: yet lost not their original gentile name from *Heber*; but were at times termed *Eberi*, or *Iberi*, according to the *Greek* manner of expressing it. The chief city of this country is at this day called *Ebora*; and is near the antient *Gades*. So wide did this active people extend themselves: and they were for ages very powerful; till by degrees they were weakened in every part, and insensibly sunk into oblivion. In the time of the *Greeks* the *Arabians* were in possession of *Edom*, the original country of the *Phenicians*; and retain it to this day. Hence it is that they have been mentioned as coming from *Phenicia*; and sometimes called *Phenicians*. Such misnomers are very common in the writings both of *Greeks* and *Romans*. The land of *Israel* was called

[12] Περιηγ. v. 282.

Judea, Syria, Idumea, Phenicia, Palestine: yet were they all distinct countries. [13] *Philo* the *Jew* calls the *Amalekites*, who attacked the *Israelites*, *Phenicians:* and the *Amalekites* were *Arabians.* So that there need not be any difficulties raised, if we find the *Cuseans* represented under that denomination.

Bochart tries to invalidate these accounts of the *Phenicians;* and will not allow, that they came from *Edom* and the *Red Sea.* He quotes every author, that I have above mentioned, and particularly *Herodotus;* but sets aside their evidence: and the reason, which he gives, is very extraordinary. [14] *Tamen ex Scripturâ constat Phœnices esse αυτοχθονας, et statim à primâ illa terrarum divisione patrem illorum Chanaanem in Chananæam se contulisse. Sed Judæos, qui, cum in terris Mari Rubro vicinis diu errâssent, Phœnices partem invaserunt, Phœnicum nomine potuit significare Herodotus.* He says, "it is manifest, that the *Phe-* "*nicians* were *aborigines:* that *Canaan* was the "father of them: and that he came into the "country, which they possessed, immediately upon "the dispersion:" all which he advances upon the authority of the Scriptures. What he mentions of *Canaan*, and of the *Canaanites*, is very true: but

[13] *Phil. Jud.* 636. and 115. edit. Mangey.

[14] Geogr. Sacr. pars poster. lib. 1. cap. 43.

in respect to the *Phenicians* he plainly begs the question. They are so far from being represented in Scripture as the descendants of *Canaan;* that the Old Testament does not once in the whole course of its history mention their name. And as to the *Jews* being meant by *Herodotus*, when he speaks of the *Phenicians* coming from the *Red Sea*, there are no grounds for such a surmise. *Herodotus*, it seems, *might call them Phenicians, who, when they had been a good while in the vicinity of the Red Sea, invaded part of Phenicia.* The country, which they invaded, was *Canaan:* and should we agree to substitute the name of *Phenicia* in lieu of it, which is not allowable, yet even this can never authorize the inferences, which are made. *Herodotus* is at this rate guilty of a twofold mistake: first in supposing the *Jews* to have been *Phenicians*, because they invaded a country, afterwards so called: and secondly for imagining that they came originally from the *Red Sea*, because in their retreat from *Egypt*, they were a good while in its neighbourhood. Is there in this notion the least show of probability? *Bochart* mentions a particularly learned person, who differed from him, and asserted, that the *Tyrians* were originally from *Edom;* to which he answers—*puto id gratis asseri, et sine authore idoneo:*[15]—*for this migra-*

[15] *Bochart.* Geogr. Sacr. pars posterior. lib. 1. cap. 43. pag. 683.

tion of the Edomites there is no good voucher. Strange! when so many writers are quoted for it by himself; some of whom are of the very first rank. I will transcribe them in his own words, as they stand at the top of the page:—*ita tradunt Herodotus, et in Strabone nonnulli, et Dionysius Periegetes, Festus, Priscianus, Plinius, Solinus, Stephanus:* to which may be added *Trogus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, whom he quotes for it in another [16] place. All these are set aside with [17] *Herodotus* at their head, though he had been in *Phenicia*, and visited *Tyre*, and must speak from knowledge, obtained upon the [18] spot. What is extraordinary, to

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Stephanus in Azoto. ταυτην ἐκτισαν ἐις των ἐπανελθοντων ἀπ' Ἐρυθρας Θαλασσης φυγαδων.

—— *Hi Rubro à littore quondam*
Mutavere domos.——*Festus.*
Tyrii à Rubro mari profecti. Solinus.

[16] *Bochart.* Geogr. Sacra. pars posterior. lib. 4. cap. 34. pag. 301. Pars prior. lib. 1. cap. 43.

[17] *Herodotus.* lib. 1. cap. 1. pag. 1.

[18] *Bochart* imagines, that *Herodotus* did not get his information from the *Tyrians*, but from the records of *Persia:* but he does not attend to the words of the historian, nor quote him quite fairly. He leaves out, what related to *Persia;* and joins two sentences, which were originally independent. The words of *Herodotus* are not—*The Persians say, that the Tyrians came from the Red Sea.*—but—*The Persians maintain, that the Phenicians were the cause of the differences, which subsisted between the European and Asiatic nations: for the Phenicians coming from the*

all this positive evidence on one side *Bochart* has nothing to oppose but the doubts and scruples of [19] *Strabo*, who was not quite satisfied, whether the antient *Tyrians* were not a colony from *Greece*.

In another place *Bochart* puts a question to this purport: Why it happens, if the *Phenicians* were the descendants of *Canaan*, that the *Greek* writers never speak of them as such; nor call them by this family name? To which *Bochart* returns no very satisfactory answer. [20] "*Respondebo Chananæos* "*puduisse sui nominis, et desiisse sic appellari,* "*propter anathema contortum in patrem suum* "*Chanaan.*" Whence does the learned *Bochart* obtain this knowledge? how was it possible for him to arrive at it, if it were true? But it is certainly a most improbable notion. All nations, but the *Israelites*, were in great uncertainty about their original: and there is no more reason to think that the *Canaanites* were acquainted with the true history of *Ham* and *Canaan*, than the *Ionians* and *Greeks* were with that of *Javan* and *Elisha*. Be-

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Red Sea, &c. first ventured upon long voyages. This makes a wide difference in the narration. This latter part is no more an history borrowed from *Persia*, than the stories of *Io*, and *Europa* are, which are joined with it, and are mentioned in the same account. *Bochart supra.* See *Herodotus.* lib. 1. at the beginning.

[19] *Strabo.* lib. 1. pag. 73.

[20] Geogr. Sacr. pars prior. lib. 4. cap. 34.

sides, how strange it is to suppose, that they should admit this gentile name from the general dispersion of mankind; that is, at least for twelve or fourteen hundred years; and then in the time of the *Greeks* become of a sudden ashamed of it, and lay it aside! It would certainly have been an unnecessary precaution, at whatever time their acquaintance commenced: for the *Greeks*, if it had been continued, would have been never the wiser; nor have found out the history annexed to it. It was an account, I believe, too antient for the natives themselves to have been acquainted with. They looked up to *Belus* and *Chronus* for their ancestors: and held *Ogus* and other [21] heroes for their founders, of a very uncertain original; their notions not being uniform. For they were a trading people, and the *Tyrians* particularly a mixed multitude. The trade of this place, as well as government, was at last engrossed by the sons of *Edom*, who were called *Phoinic*, and entailed that name upon the country.

That I may complete this argument, I beg to know, if the *Canaanites* were *ab origine Pheni-*

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[21] Such as *Demaroun* and *Melicarthus*. Τῳ δὲ Δημαρουντι γινεται Μελικαρθος, ὁ και Ἡρακλης. *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. lib. 1. cap. 10. *Eusebius* mentions likewise one *Dasanaus*, Chron. Canon. interprete Hieron. ad num. CCCCXCVIII. which seems to be the same name as the *Dorsanes* of *Hesychius*. Δορσανης, ὁ Ἡρακλης παρ' Ινδοις. See *Vossius* de Orig. et Progr. Idololatr. lib. 1. cap. 22.

cians, how it comes to pass, that the sacred writers are silent on this head, who are so particular about the history and original of the sons of *Canaan?* And as they are silent in respect to this piece of history, I should be glad to be informed, whence the learned *Bochart* gets his intelligence? The same demand may be made upon bishop [22] *Cumberland;* who takes this point for granted, and in consequence of it makes the *Shepherds*, who invaded *Egypt*, *Canaanites;* and builds largely upon this notion. The greatest part of the country of *Canaan* was seized upon by the *Israelites*, and the natives almost extirpated. Those, who remained

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[22] It is true, in the remains of *Sanchoniatho* we are told, that *Chnaa*, or *Canaan*, was the father of *Phoinix* or the *Phenician*. But it must be considered, that these are not the real words of this writer, but a *Greek* version: where the translator, instead of the word *Canaanite*, which was not familiar to him, has substituted a name with which he was better acquainted. It cannot possibly be supposed that *Sanchoniatho*, when he speaks of *Canaan*, who was the true father of the *Canaanite*, and where he must naturally allude to the patronymic, should go wide of the mark, and term him the father of the *Phenician:* even if we suppose the two names to relate to the same people; which they certainly did not. The sons of *Canaan* are enumerated in *Genesis* chap. 10. v. 15. according to their families; and no such name as *Phenix* or *Phenician* occurs. *Stephanus Byzantinus* mentions the same circumstance, that we find in *Sanchoniatho;* but introduces it with a proper limitation: Χνα· ουτως ἡ Φοινικη εκαλειτο.— Το εθνικον ταυτης Χναος. This in some degree may be accepted as true.

to the north, were subdued by the king of *Damascus*, and other *Syrian* princes; and the sea coasts were occupied by the sons of *Edom*, as I have shewn. The *Jews* to the last called that part of the country, which they did not possess, *Canaan*; and the people are sometimes termed *Canaanites*. Thus St. *Matthew* mentions [23] "a wo-"man of *Canaan*, who cried unto *Jesus*." But when we come to inquire farther, we find by St. *Mark*, that "the woman was a *Greek*, a *Syro-*"*phenician* by nation:" so that she had not the least tincture of the antient *Canaanitish* blood; but was merely an inhabitant of the country. And although the Apostles do still make mention of the land of *Canaan*, yet they seem industriously to distinguish the coast of *Tyre* and *Sidon* from it: which they call [24] *Phenice*. We may therefore rest assured, that the *Phenicians* were not *Canaanites*. I may be asked in my turn, if the *Phenicians* were from *Edom*, how it comes to pass, that the sacred writers never take notice of this circumstance, nor mention them by either of those names? The an-

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[23] Chap. 15. v. 22. *Mark* 7. v. 26. Γυνη Ἑλληνις, Συροφοινισσα τω γενει.

[24] *Acts*. 11. v. 19. Chap. 15. v. 3. Chap. 21. v. 2, 3. Και ευροντες πλοιον διαπειρων εις Φοινικην, επιβαντες απηχθημεν. Αναφαντες δε την Κυπρον, και καταλιποντες αυτην ευωνυμον, επλεομεν εις Συριαν, και κατηχθημεν εις TYPON. The sea coast only was *Phenicia*; the rest was *Canaan*.

swer in this place is obvious. The name *Poinic*, from whence came the word *puniceus* of the *Romans*, the Φοινιξ of the *Greeks*, and the name of the *Carthaginians Pœnic*, was not the original name of this people, but *Edom;* in the room of which the former was substituted, being a word of the same purport. This however was not the term, which the sacred writers were used to: had they called this people by their family name, it would have been *Edomites*. But this would have been accompanied with some ambiguity; as there would have been two nations of the same name: and with some impropriety; as they were not of that country, though in great measure of the same lineage. They therefore call them always the *Tyrians*, and the *Sidonians;* which was the strict truth, and attended with no uncertainty. As to the silence of the Scriptures concerning this people coming originally from *Edom;* it amounts to nothing. The Scriptures are never fraught with unnecessary truths;[25] had it been a circumstance at all necessary to have been made known, and of consequence in the *Jewish* history; it would certainly have been transmitted to us.

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[25] The history of *Canaan* was very much connected with the history of the *Israelites:* but that of the *Phenicians* had not the same relation; nor was it so necessary to be explained.

A FARTHER

ACCOUNT OF THE PLACES,

TO WHICH THE

SHEPHERDS RETREATED.

THE *Cuseans* retiring towards the *Amalekites* and the country of *Edom* gave rise to the tradition, that both these nations had conquered *Egypt*. And so far may have been true, that the former had some share in the conquest; as the *Arab* historians maintain. That the *Cuseans* settled here, and mixed with the nations round about, appears pretty evident from the many places of *Cusean* original, that this part of the world abounds with. I am sensible, there is generally a great fallacy in being determined by a similitude in names; which are often distorted and misapplied, to favour a particular notion. But when they are plain, and in great numbers, and fairly correspond with other places of a different situation; it is a proof, that people of the same lineage or nation must have been resident in the different parts, where they occur. In the lot of the tribe of *Judah*, which

comprehended a great deal of the country conquered to the south, (much of which was from the *Amalekites)* there are many names of places, that correspond exactly with others in *Egypt*, which we have shewn to have been of *Arabian* original. There is in the first place to be found the name of the very country, that they had deserted, *Gǫshen* or *Gushen;* whose true pronunciation, and orthography I supposed was *Cushan.* It lay to the south of *Judah*, not far from mount *Seir:* and among other places taken from the *Amalekites* by the children of *Israel*, this was one. [1] " So *Joshua* smote " all the country of the hills, and of the south, and " of the vale, and of the springs, and all their " kings:—And *Joshua* smote them from *Kadesh-* " *barnea* even unto *Gaza*, and all the country of " *Goshen*, even unto *Gibeon.*" [2] " So *Joshua* " took all that land, the hills and all the south- " country, and all the land of *Goshen*,—Even from " the mount *Halak*, that goeth up to *Seir*, even " unto *Baal-Gad.*" Hence we find, that to the south of *Judea* there was a land of *Goshen*, in the country of the *Amalekites.* That here had been the residence of some people from *Egypt*, may be inferred from the history of the sons of *Simeon*, who were in situation collateral with those of *Ju-*

[1] *Joshua.* 10. v. 40, 41.

[2] Chap. 11. v. 16.

dah. [3] "They went to the entrance of *Gedor*, "even unto the east side of the valley, to seek "pasture for their flocks. And they found fat "pasture and good, and the land was wide, and "quiet, and peaceable; for they of *Ham* had "dwelt there of old. And these written by name "came in the days of *Hezekiah* king of *Judah*, "and smote their tents, &c.—And some of them, "even of the sons of *Simeon*, five hundred men, "went to mount *Seir*,—And they smote the rest of "the *Amalekites*, that were escaped, and dwelt "there to this day." By this, I think, it appears, that the people of *Ham* in this passage are reckoned among the *Amalekites:* and "by the residue of "the *Amalekites*" is to be understood the remnant of the people of *Ham*. This people I suppose to have been a part of the *Arabian* shepherds or *Cuseans;* who were called the people of *Ham* from their so long residence in *Egypt*, the original land of *Ham*. Many of those, that retired from *Egypt*, as well as those, that were driven from *Goshen* by *Joshua*, seem to have betaken themselves to the coast of the *Red Sea;* where they occur under the names of *Gasandæ*, *Cassanitæ*, and *Casandres;* as they are described by [4] *Agatharchides*, *Stephanus*

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[3] 1 *Chron.* 4. v. 39, &c.

[4] Τουτων αστυγειτονες εισιν Αλιλαιοι και Κασανδρεις. *Agatharchides* de Rubro mari. Geogr. Vet. vol. 1. pag. 60. Κασσανιται, εθνος εν τῃ παραλιῃ της Ερυθρας θαλασσης. *Steph. Byzant.* Ἡ δ' ἑξης χωρα

and *Diodorus*. Here they built a city *Aur* or *Oropolis*, changed by the *Greeks* to *Heroum* and *Heroopolis*. They had a second of this name, mentioned by *Stephanus*; Αυαρα, πολις Αραβιας: which I take to be the same, that is by [5] *Josephus* called the city of *Alorus*. It is mentioned by the *Nubian* geographer under the name of *Ara* and [6] *Aura*; and is called *Avara* (Αυαρα) by [7] *Ptolemy*; and by its situation appears to have been near to *Midian*. Near this was a city named by *Stephanus* Βαισαμψα —Βαισαμψα, πολις εν τῳ Αραβικῳ κολπῳ, περι την Ερυθραν θαλασσαν, ὁ εστιν οικος Ἡλιου. The interpretation shews the true etymology of the word, which should have been expressed Βαθψαμας, the same as Βεθσημες, *Bethsemesh*, which signifies "the house of the "sun." There was another *Bethsemesh*, in that part of the tribe of *Judah*, which was taken from the *Amalekites*, near the country of *Goshen* above

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κατοικειται μεν ὑπο Αραβων Αλιλαιων και Γασανδων. *Diod. Sic.* lib. 3. pag. 125. Κασσανιτων χωρα is mentioned likewise by *Ptolemy*, Geogr. lib. 6; and by *Marcianus Heracloeta* in Steph. Byzant. The original name of the antient city *Petra* was *Rath-Alilat*; which it still retains. *Sandys's* Travels. book 2.

[5] *Joseph.* de Bell. Jud. lib. 4. cap. 9.

[6] Vide Climat. 3tii part. 4tam. pag. 107. *Haura* is mentioned as a *Roman* garrison with a centurion's guard. *Abulfeda.* It is the same as the tower of *Avara* or *Ouc-Aura*; by some said to have been built by *Ishmael*.

[7] Geogr. lib. 5.

mentioned. [8] "And the border [of *Judah* to the "south] compassed from *Baalah* westward unto "mount *Seir*, and passed along unto the side of "mount *Jearim*, which is *Chesalon*, on the north "side, and went down to *Beth-shemesh*." Here was likewise *Ain Shemesh* or [9] *On*, similar to that in *Egypt*; called the "fountain of the sun," and situated near to *Elah* and *Midian*: and *Caen*, an *Egyptian* city. Some of these *Cuseans* settled on the coast of the *Red Sea*, somewhat lower; and were the *Arab-Egyptians* of *Ptolemy*. [10] Την δε παρα τον Αραβιον κολπον ὁλην παραλιον κατεχουσιν Αραβαιγυπτιοι, Ιχθυοφαγοι, εν ὁις ορειναι ῥαχεις. The reason of their being called so is obvious: their twofold connection explains it. They inhabited the western coast, as the *Casandæ* of [11] *Diodorus* did the eastern. They are represented as a very antient nation; and their chief port upon that sea was [12] *Cous*; which the *Egyptians*, when they long after began to think of commerce, seized upon. This is the [13] nation that preserved that memorable

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[8] *Jos.* 15. v. 10.

[9] Μετα το εν τῳ Ελανιτῃ μυχῳ ὁριον του Αραβικου κολπου Οννη, Μεδιανη, κ. τ. λ. *Ptol.* Geogr. lib. 6.

[10] *Ptol.* Geogr. lib. 4.

[11] *Diodorus Sic.* lib. 3. pag. 125.

[12] Of *Cous*, see *Abulfeda*, Descriptio maris Al Kolzum. Geogr. Vet. vol. 3. pag. 70.

[13] They reached southward from *Clysma*; at which place the

tradition of the retiring of the *Red Sea*,[14] and leaving a dry space in the middle: which originally alluded to the miraculous passage of the *Israelites*. All these evidences shew, that the sons of *Chus* settled in these parts; which might have been at several periods; but particularly when they retired from *Egypt*. On the other side they extended themselves very far in *Arabia felix*; where may be found many plain vestigia of them. I have observed that lower *Egypt* was termed *Raab* and *Reib*; and sometimes *Aireib*, which signifies the land of *Reib* or *Raab*. The middle part of the country was styled *Æthreib* and [15]*Æthrib*, which is interpreted "the heart or center of "the triangular country," *Cor telluris piriformis*: on which account the center nome, as well as stream, had the name of *Athribis*, and *Athribitic*. These terms are to be found in *Arabia felix*. All the country about *Mecca* and *Medina* is denomi-

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children of *Israel* are supposed to have passed the *Red Sea*. Κλυσμα—δ' ὑ παλαι και το Ισραηλιτικον φευγοντες τους Αιγυπτιους αβροχῳ το ῥειθρον διεπεραιωθησαν ποδι. *Excerpta à Philostorgio*, lib. 3. cap. 6; apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. edit. Reading. vol. 3.

[14] *Ovington* in his voyage up the *Red Sea* takes notice of *Gezon* in the latitude of 17°; and mentions the kingdom of *Casseen* towards the entrance of the same sea. Captain *Saris* calls it *Cushin*. *Purchas*. vol. 1. pag. 339.

[15] See *Bochart* of the word *Aithrib*, Geogr. Sacr. pars prior. lib. 4. cap. 2.

nated after this manner. *Constantine Porphyrogennetus* acquaints us, that the impious doctrine of *Mahomet* began in the province of *Athribis*: [16] Και κατεσχεν ἡ πονηρα πλανη τε και αἱρεσις αυτȣ τα μερη της Αιθριβȣ. In like manner *Theophanes* in his *Chronicle* describes the rise of the *Mahometan* sect at the same place: [17] Και εκρατησεν ἡ αἱρεσις αυτȣ τα μερη της Αιθριβȣ, δια πολεμȣ το εσχατον· πρωην μεν κρυπτως ετη δεκα. And in the *Saracenica* it is said, that, when the emperor *Heraclius* after his *Persian* expedition was passing through *Arabia*, *Mahomet* went out to meet him at *Athribis*. [18] Επαναστρεφομενȣ τȣ βασιλεως Ἡρακλειȣ μετα νικης εκ τȣ των Περσων πολεμȣ, και μελλοντος αυτȣ διελθειν την Αιθριβον, απηει προς ὑπαντησιν αυτȣ ὁ θεομισης Μωαμεθ. The name *Athribis* had a meaning; and was well adapted to the part of *Egypt*, that it was originally given to: but between this part of the world and the name that it is mentioned by, there is not the least analogy: which shews that it was adventitious. Whence it was derived, and by whom imported, is, I think, pretty clear. It must have been introduced by the

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[16] *Constant. Porphyr.* de Administr. Imp. cap. 14. Εκρατησεν δε ἡ αἱρεσις αυτȣ τα μερη της Αιθριβȣ. Ibid. cap. 17.

[17] Vide *Byzant. Hist.* vol. 12. pag. 278. It is the Ιαθριππα of *Stephanus*; called Ιαθριπ in the *Excerpta* from *Chrysococcæ* Syntaxis. Geogr. Vet. vol. 3. pag. 3.

[18] *Saracenica, incerti auctoris, operâ Sylburgii.* 1595. pag. 58. See also *Cedren.* Compend. Historiar. pag. 422.

Cuseans, called *Gasandæ* and *Cassanitæ*: those sons of *Chus*, who came from *Egypt*, and settled upon that side of the *Red Sea*; and carried with them these memorials of their history and nation. *Mahomet* was his self of their race, though perhaps mixed with other families. To obtain favour with the *Jews*, he affected to be descended from *Ishmael*, the son of *Abraham*; the great ancestor of all the *Israelites*. But even as he gives out his genealogy, though the traces may be faint and obscure, we may still perceive that he was of *Cusean* race, as all the *Arabians* were. According to their accounts, there was one *Zenarus*, who was a descendant of *Ishmael*; and he had two sons, *Mundarus* and *Rab*: of which, *Mundarus* is said to have been the father of *Cousarus* and *Cuseus*. [19] Ζηναρος γαρ ὁ τε Ισμαηλ απογονος πατηρ αυτων αναγορευεται παντων. Ουτος ουν γεννα υιους δυο, Μανδαρον και Ραβειαν· ὁ δε Μανδαρος τικτει Κουσαρον, και Καισον, και [20] Θυμιμην, και [21] Ασανδον, και αλλας τινας ὁμωνυμους

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[19] *Constantinus Porph.* de adm. imp. cap. 14. περι της γενεαλογιας του Μαχυμετ. *Cyrillus* calls him Νιζαρος: *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, and the author of the *Saracenica* read Νιζαρος and Νιζαρος.

[20] *Theophanes* has και Θιμιμην; which probably means *Teman*, the name both of a person and a place. Both *Ishmael* and *Esau* had a son of that name.

[21] Ασανδον may possibly be a mistake for Γασανδον; and not the name of a man, but of a nation; the same that is mentioned by *Diodorus*, *Ptolemy* and *Agatharchides*.

(ανωνυμους)· οἱ και την Μαδιανιτην ερημον κληρωσαμενοι εκτηνοτροφουν, εν σκηναις κατοικουντες. The sons of *Ishmael* are well known from the *Mosaic* history; not one of which is to be found in this list, that is given by the *Arabians*. It seems to be an odd and perplexed account of countries, mixed with that of the people, who inhabited them: which confusion has arisen from the *Greek* writers not understanding the histories, to which they had recourse.[22] Hence *Cyrill* in his *Chronicle* tells us, that one of the sons of *Nizarus* was *Arabia*. And in the *Saracenica* we are informed, that *Mahomet* had a son-in-law called *Elim*; and his two grandchildren were *Cushan* and *Casan*. I take Ασανδος in *Constantine Porphyrogennetus* to be an omission for Γασανδος: and if Θεμιμην, the reading of *Theophanes* be right, the meaning of all these histories at bottom will be

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[22] In the *Catechesis et Saracenismi Anathematizatio*, where every thing relating to *Mahomet* is solemnly cursed, among other abominations these are specified: Αναθεματιζω Αλειμ τον επι θυγατρι γαμβρον του Μωαμεδ· και Χασανην και Χουσενην τους υιους αυτου. pag. 77. *Casan* and *Cushan* were not *Mahomet*'s sons, but the nation, he was his self descended from. He might be descended in part from *Ishmael*; but he was likewise of the family of *Chus*; a *Cusean*. Νιζαρος γεννᾳ υιους δυο Μυνδαρον και Αραβιαν. *Cyrilli* Chron. I think, it is plain from hence, that the *Greek* historians have been guilty of a great misapplication of terms: and that the names *Caisus*, *Cusharus*, *Cushan*, *Rabeia*, *Arabia*, &c. could never have been the names of particular men; but of provinces and countries, as well as of the tribes, who possessed them.

this: that the inhabitants of *Mecca* and *Medina* were originally descended from a people called of old *Gasandæ*, *Cassan*, *Cushan*, *Cushour*: and from the people of *Teman* and *Elim*, or *Elah* near *Midian*: that is, both from *Cush* and *Ishmael*; but particularly from those *Cuseans*, who came out of Ραβια, or *Egypt*; and named the place, which they came to, *Athribis*.

The sons of *Chus*, where they once got possession, were never totally ejected. If they were at any time driven away, they returned after a time, and recovered their ground: for which reason I make no doubt, but many of them in process of time returned to *Chaldea*; and mixed with those of their family, who resided there: for many of them remained. Hence arose the tradition that the *Babylonians* not only conquered *Egypt*; but that the learning of the *Egyptians* came originally from *Chaldea*: and the like account from the *Egyptians*; that people from their country had conquered *Babylon*, and that the knowledge of the *Chaldeans* was derived from them. Some of this nation betook themselves northward, and passed into *Padan-Aram*; and in this place, as well as in all others before mentioned, they have maintained themselves to this day. Soon after the settling of the *Israelites* in *Canaan*, we read of *Cushan Rishathaim*; who is styled king of *Mesopotamia*; and must have been a powerful prince, having held the children of *Israel* in subjection many years.

His name plainly shews, that he was an *Arabian* or *Cusean*. *Clemens Alexandrinus*[23] calls him Χουσαχαρ, *Chusachar*; which seems to have been a corruption of *Chus Ouc Aur*, or *Orus*; a name assumed by many of his family. [24] *Eutychius* says, that he was king of *Tyre* and *Sidon*: he held them perhaps tributary, as he did the rest of the land of *Canaan*. He must have trespassed upon the sons of *Aram* very much; who seem to have retired, and to have left him the upper part of the interamnian province. The people, whom he carried with him, were undoubtedly the colony, which *Belus* is said in early times to have brought out of *Egypt*, and planted on the banks of the [25] *Euphrates*. *Belus* was rather a title, than a name; and was bestowed upon many illustrious persons of *Assyria*, *Babylonia*, *Syria*, *Phenicia*, *Egypt*. To this *Cu-*

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[23] Strom. lib. 1. pag. 384. edit. Potter. The *Chaldæe Paraphrast* calls him "the wicked *Cusean*."

[24] *Eutychii* Annales. tom. 1. pag. 118.

[25] *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. 1. pag. 17. says, that *Belus* carried this colony to *Babylon*; and that they were the same people, who were called afterwards *Chaldeans*. But this is an idle appendage to the true history; yet shews the antiquity of the history. If any nation in the world could be called αυτοχθονες, it was the nation of the *Chaldeans*: and so far from being a colony from *Egypt*, they were coeval with that kingdom, if not some years prior to it. See Additional Remarks. The colony here spoken of was indeed from *Egypt*; but did not consist of *Egyptians*, but *Cuscans*.

shan, and his people, we must attribute the building of the city [26] *Ur* in these parts; called *Urhoë*, and sometimes *Abor* and *Chabor*. It stood upon a river of the same name, the Αβωρας of [27] *Zosimus*, and the Αζυρας of [28] *Isidorus Characenus*: which river is called the *Chabor* [29] at this day. They built likewise *Carchemish*, a strong place at the chief passage of the *Euphrates*, and at the mouth of the *Chabor*: which city betrays its original doubly, by the variation observed in its name. It was called both [30] *Carchemish*, and *Carcusium*.

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[26] *Marcellinus* mentions this city *Ur* in *Mesopotamia*, in the retreat of *Jovian* towards *Nisibis*. *Ad, Ur nomine, Persicum venere Castellum.* lib. 25. cap. 8.

[27] *Zosimus* lib. 3. pag. 12.

[28] *Isidor. Characen.* apud Vet. Geogr. vol. 3. pag. 4.

[29] Voyage of *Gasper Balbi.* 1579.

[30] *Karkesiam, quæ olim Carcemis dicebatur, deveni. Euphratis ripæ imminet. Benj. Tudelensis.* pag. 62. *Postea* [*Euphrates labitur*] *ad Cqercqusiam; ibique cernitur ostium fluminis Alchabur. Nubiensis.* See also *Marcellin.* lib. 23. cap. 5. *Bochart* Geogr. Sacr. pars prior. lib. 4. cap. 21. and *Cellarius*, vol. 2. pag. 437. There was another city named *Abor* and *Chabor*; which is mentioned by *Ptolemy*, as well as by *Sinocatta*, lib. 4. cap. 10. Αβορων φρουριον. But I take this by its situation to have been the same as *Carchemish*, called by the *Greeks* and *Romans Cercusium*; a place of great note and antiquity, as I have shewn: which *Ptolemy* can hardly be supposed to have omitted; but rather to have called it by another name, taken from the river, at the mouth of which it stood. The real city *Chabor* was far above; near the source of the river, to which

The first is the city of *Chemmis* or *Cham*; answering to a city of the same name and purport in *Egypt*. By the other is meant the city of *Chus*: *Cercusium* and *Carcusium*, the *Karkisiya* of [31] *Nasir Ettusæus*, being no other than *Carcushan*; and probably built in memory of that city, of which we have taken so much notice. The prophet *Jeremiah* [32] mentions, that *Pharaoh Necho* came up against *Carchemish*, which *Nebuchadnezzar* had taken. It seems by this to have been for some time before in the hands of the *Egyptians*; who gave it, I imagine, the name of *Carchemish*. It was originally called *Carcush*, or *Carcushan*; which name it again recovered. Here too was a land of *Goshen*; called by the sacred writers *Gozan*, and by the *Romans Gausanitis*; with a river *Gozan*, the same as the *Chabor*. The other river in *Mesopotamia*, called by *Ptolemy* the *Saocoras*, was probably the *Seghor*, or *Schor*; which was the name of the *Nile* in *Egypt*. All these circumstances prove that the sons of *Chus* forced themselves very early into the upper provinces of *Mesopotamia*, and maintained themselves therein. And

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it gave name, as well as to a lake, out of which the river issued. Its true name was *Ur*, synonymous to that in *Chaldea*; but was changed to *Abor* and *Chabor*, like the city *Avaris* in *Egypt*. See 1 *Chron.* 5. v. 26.

[31] Vide Geogr. Vet. vol. 3.

[32] *Jerem.* 46. v. 2.

there is great reason to think, that they were part of that numerous body, which retired out of *Egypt*. This may serve to clear up the doubts of the learned *Marsham*, who could not account for the place of their retreat: [33] *Quò tandem profecti sint Pastores, aut quibus in locis sedes posuerint, incertum est.*

In this country were the tribes of *Israel* placed; at least a great part of them, who were carried away captive by *Salmanasser*. [34] "In the ninth "year of *Hoshea*, the king of *Assyria* took *Sa-* "*maria*, and carried *Israel* away into *Assyria*, "and placed them in *Halah* and in *Habor* by the "river of *Gozan*, and in the cities of the *Medes*." *Halah* and *Habor*, called likewise *Chala* and *Chabor*, were, as I have in part shewn, in the upper region of *Mesopotamia* between the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*; both upon the river *Gozan*, called likewise the *Chabor*: the cities of the *Medes* were beyond. There was something very signal in the catastrophe of these tribes, that were carried into the country, which I have been describing. It is well known, how the *Israelites* after their servitude in *Egypt* were conducted to the land of promise; which they enjoyed above seven hundred years. Upon their repeated rebellion and idolatry, ten of

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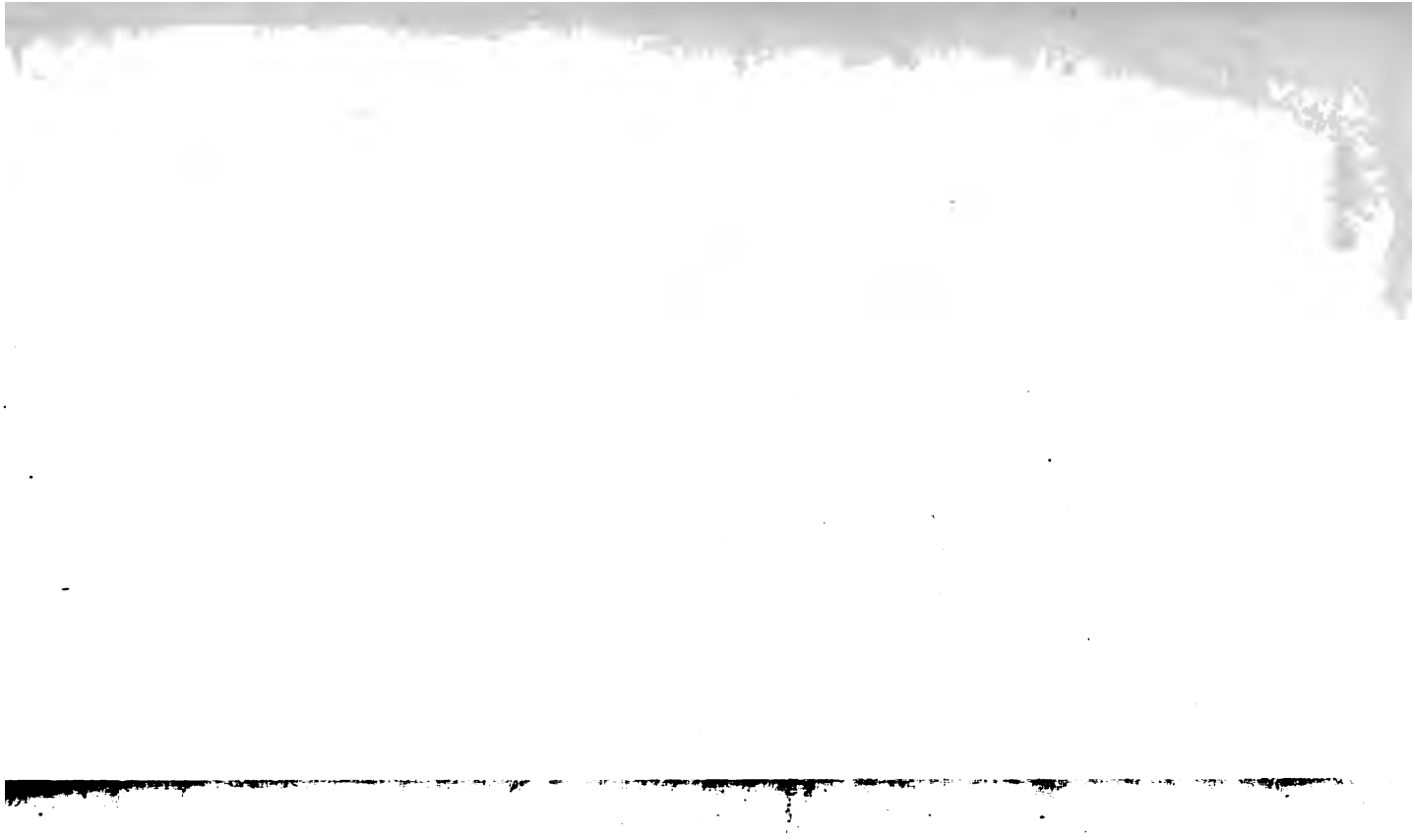
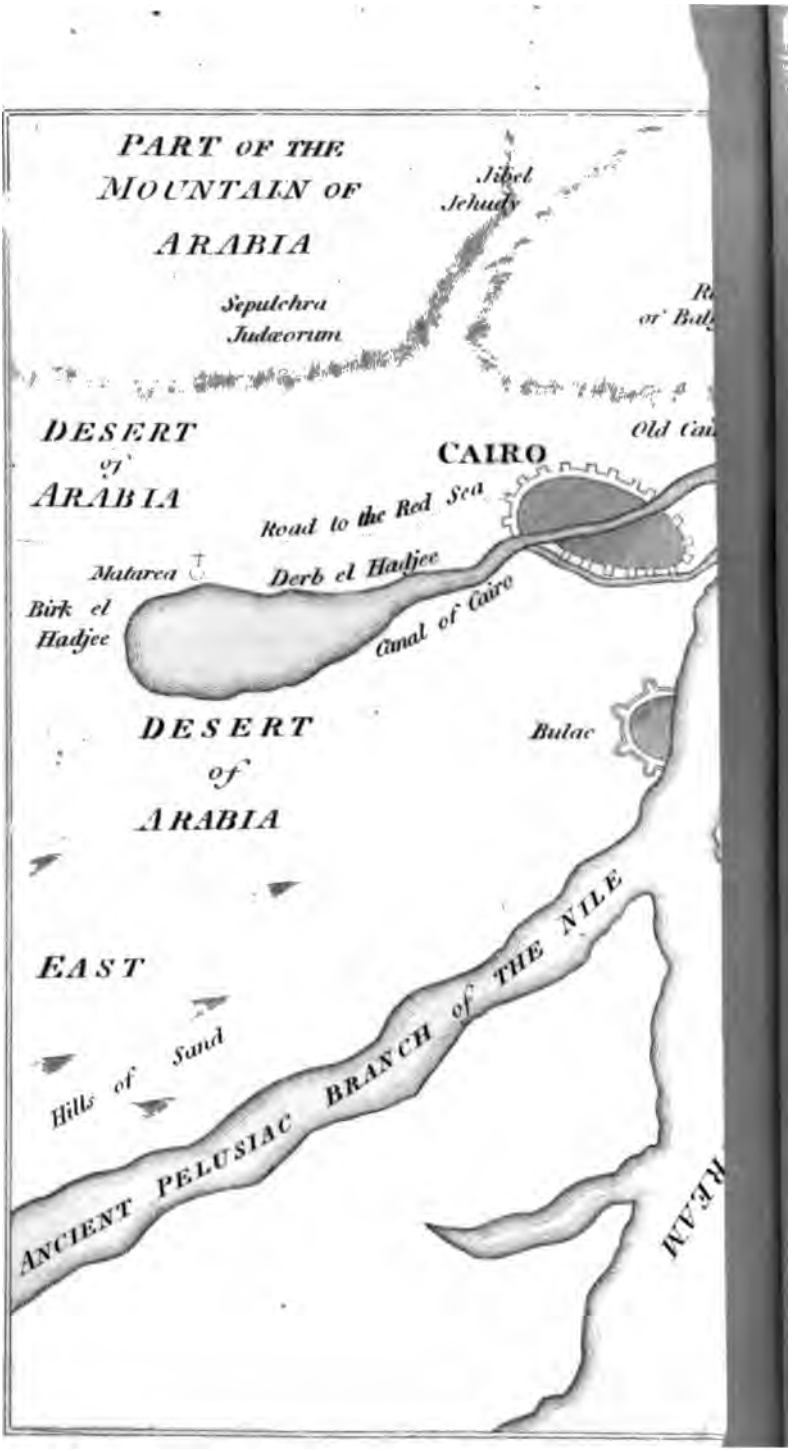
[33] Ad sec. XII. pag. 524.

[34] 2 *Kings* 17. v. 6. Chap. 18. v. 11. 1 *Chron.* 5. v. 26.

MONTIS ARABIÆ
PARS
Babylon
Abaris
sive
Litopolis
ARABIA DESERTA
Phaccusa
Ad Mare Rubrum Via
Onium olim Pithom
Heliopolis
Pseudo-
Fossa Regalissive Cushan
ORIENS
ARABIA DESERTA
A Canaene et Philistim Via
FLUMEN PELUSIACUM
NOMUS BUBASTITES
Bubastus
Phibeset
S.S




PART OF THE
MOUNTAIN OF
ARABIA
Jibel
Jehudy
Sepulchra
Judæorum
DESERT
of
ARABIA
CAIRO
Road to the Red Sea
Matarea
Derb el Hadjee
Birk el
Hadjee
Canal of Cairo
DESERT
of
ARABIA
Bulac
EAST
Hills of Sand
ANCIENT PELUSIAC BRANCH of THE NILE

the tribes were carried into a second bondage: and what is remarkable, many of them went to another land of *Goshen*; but not like that of old: to another city *Avaris*; and in succession to the same people, to whom their fathers had succeeded in *Egypt*, even the *Cuseans*. Their captivity was attended with this cruel circumstance, that they went now to a wild and uncultivated country: and had the mortification to see the people, who had quitted it, occupy the pleasant fields of *Israel*. [35] "The king of *Assyria* brought men from *Ba-*
"*bylon*, and from *Cuthah*, and from *Ava*, and
"from *Hamath*, and from *Sepharvaim*, and placed
"them in the cities of *Samaria*:—and they pos-
"sessed *Samaria*, and dwelt in the cities thereof." Here was every additional circumstance, to aggravate their misfortune, and embitter their servitude: to bring to their memory continually what they had been, and what they now were: to point out visibly the finger of God in the peculiar sufferings of such a reprobate people: and at the same time to alarm the remaining tribes; that they might take warning at the sight of such particular judgments, and recollect themselves in good time.

Thus have I endeavoured to clear up some parts of antient history, particularly that which relates to the land of *Goshen*, and the *Shepherd Kings*: a

[35] 2 *Kings* 17. v. 24.

work of some consequence, if rightly conducted; but attended with no small difficulty, and requiring uncommon attention. Were a person to meet with the remains of an antient tessellated pavement, shattered into a thousand pieces, and to endeavour to reduce it to order; his labour would be similar to that of rectifying the chronology, and history of *Egypt*. The latter task is accompanied with this additional trouble; that, as many have been from time to time tampering with this work, the materials, originally ill-placed, have been ten times more confounded; and many of them rejected and abolished by persons, who could not adapt them to their particular system.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

OF

BELUS, NINUS, ARIUS,

AND SOME OF THE

SUPPOSED KINGS OF BABYLONIA.

I MENTIONED, that the *Assyrians* had regained *Babylon* at the time that the shepherds were in *Egypt*. Conformable to what I have been saying is the evidence of *Africanus;* who not only tells us, that the *Assyrians* had got possession of it; but specifies, that they took it from the *Arabians:* which *Arabians,* we know, were the sons of *Chus,* as has been before shewn. [1] Την των Αραβων βασιλειαν την μετα την Χαλδαιων διεδεξαντο Ασσυριων βασιλεις. One of the first of these *Assyrian* kings

[1] *Euseb.* Chron. Αογ. Πρωτ. pag. 18.

was [2] *Ninus;* who is said to have reigned 52 years: and in the 43d of his reign this writer farther informs us, that the great patriarch *Abraham* was born. [3] Νινȣ τȣ βασιλεως Ασσυριων τεσσαρακοςον τριτον αγοντος ετος της βασιλειας, γενναται Αϐρααμ. From whence we may be farther assured, of what I before supposed, about *Arioch Melech Ellasar.* For if *Abraham* was born in the latter part of the reign of *Ninus;* the time of *Arius,* the fourth in the dynasty of *Africanus,* coincides with that of *Arioch* in the Scriptures: so that they are certainly the names of the same person. And the reign of this prince will be found to commence about the 88th or 89th year of the life of [4] *Abraham,* about three

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[2] Αϐρααμ. Ουτος ην ὁ τȣ Ιȣδαιων εθνȣς προπατωρ. Κατα τȣτον, Ασσυριας και της Ασιας πασης εβασιλευσε Νινος, και Σεμιραμις ὁμου. Απο τȣ κατακλυσμȣ επι το πρωτον ετος Αϐρααμ, ετη ϡ μ β. *Euseb.* Chron. pag. 9.

[3] *Euseb.* Chron. Λογ. Πρωτ. pag. 18. pag. 373.

[4] *Abraham* was born according to *Africanus* in the 43d year of *Ninus.* From the 43d of *Ninus* to the time of his death are nine years. And as *Semiramis* is supposed to have reigned 42 years, and *Zames* after her 38; the total amount is 89 years, which is the term of *Abraham*'s life when *Arioch* begins to reign. *Primus Assyriorum rex Ninus, Beli filius: regnavit Asiæ exceptis Indis, annos* LII, *cujus* XLIII *imperii anno natus est Abraham.* *Euseb.* Chron. Hieron. Interprete. pag. 11.

Βασιλεις Ασσυριων *ex Africano* apud *Euseb.* Histor. Συναγωγ. pag. 356.

Βηλος	νε
Νινος	νϐ
Σεμιραμις	μϐ
Νινυας } Ζαμης }	λη
Αριος.	

years after the birth of *Ishmael.* But according to the Scripture account, this invasion, made by the four kings, seems to have been a year or two prior to this event; if we may judge from the place, where it is introduced: so that we cannot in these distant inquiries arrive at exact chronological precision. Yet I think, as these circumstances are brought to coincide so nearly, nobody can well doubt, but that *Arioch Melech Ellasar,* and *Arius* king of *Nineve,* are the same person. Archbishop *Usher* makes this war happen about the seventy-first year of *Abraham*'s life; but this is rather too early, as it does not quite agree with the account in the Scriptures: for this invasion of the kings was made, when *Abraham* was in the land of *Canaan;* and he did not reside there, till he was seventy-five years old. According to Bp. *Cumberland, Zames* began to reign in the fortieth year of *Abraham:* and as he reigned 38 years, the time of *Arius* commences in the 78th year of the said patriarch: which gives room for every thing relating to that prince to correspond with the Scripture account of *Arioch. Africanus* instead of *Ninus,* makes *Belus,* his supposed father, the first *Assyrian* king, who reigned at *Babylon:* and the great *Scaliger* agrees with him intirely, and implicitly follows his canon. [s] Την των Αραβων βασιλειαν την μετα την Χαλδαιων διεδεξ-

[s] *Euseb.* Chron. Αιγ. Πρωτ. pag. 18.

αντο Ασσυριων βασιλεις, διαρχεσαντες απο τε πρωτε αυτων Βηλε, ἑως τε Θωνε Κονκολιρε, τε και Σαρδαναπαλε. Upon which *Scaliger* remarks—[6] *Ante Belum Arabes in Babyloniâ, ante illos Chaldæi ibidem regnum obtinuerunt: et ut Chaldæos Arabes, sic illos Assyrii de regni possessione deturbarunt*, &c. I have mentioned, that *Belus* was not a name of any particular person; but a title assumed by many, and of different nations. And, if *Belus* were a king; yet this, I believe, would be the only place in history, where he is made the conqueror of *Babylonia*, as *Scaliger* supposes. It is contrary to the uniform evidence of *Ctesias*, *Diodorus*, *Trogus*, *Paterculus*, and many other historians, who ascribe the conquest of that city to *Ninus*. [7] Νινος—εστρατευσε μετα πολλης δυναμεως επι Βαβυλωνιας. It is contrary to what [8] *Africanus* hisself, and *Eusebius* after him, intimate in other parts of the history, that they have left us: where *Belus* is omitted in the list of *Assyrian* princes, which commences with *Ninus*; of whom it is there said, τουτον πρωτον φασιν ἁπασης της Ασιας, πλην Ινδων, κεκρατηκεναι.

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[6] *Jos. Scalig.* Can. Isagog. lib. 3. pag. 319.

[7] *Diod. Sic.* lib. 2. pag. 90.

Πρωτος δε των εις ἱστοριαν και μνημην παραδιδομενων Νινος ὁ Βασιλευς των Ασσυριων. Ibid.

Primus omnium Ninus, rex Assyriorum, &c. *Justin.* lib. 1. cap. 1.

[8] *Euseb.* Chron. Canon. pag. 89. Histor. Συναγωγη. pag. 356.

But there is a farther mistake in this account of *Africanus*, as it is transmitted to us by *Eusebius*, *Syncellus*, and others; such as must necessarily take off from that implicit regard, which *Scaliger* thinks should be paid to him. Before the taking of *Babylon* by the *Assyrians*, he supposes two dynasties of kings to have reigned there; the first of *Chaldeans* 224 years, the latter of *Arabians* 216. In the first place, these dynasties are absolutely fictitious. No such kings reigned in the times, that are here specified; as I will shew hereafter. And as to the two nations in this place mentioned, and distinguished; they were certainly the same people, and of the same original. For the *Chaldeans* here introduced may be proved to have been *Arabians*, even upon the evidence of these writers. The list is as follows;

Chaldean kings of *Babylon.*	Reigned Years.	*Arabian* kings who succeeded.	Reigned Years.
Evechous	6	*Mardocentes*	45
Chomasbolus	7	*Anon*	41
Porus	35	*Sisimadochus*	28
Nechobis	43	*Gabius*	37
Abius	48	*Parannus*	40
Oniballus	40	*Nabonnabus*	25
Zinzirus	45		216
	224		

Who were the original *Arabians*, but the sons o *Chus*, as I have before proved? and who stand i the front of this list of *Chaldean* princes, but th heads of the *Cusean* family? The first in the detai is *Evechoos;* which name, though a little varied signifies "the great lord *Chus.*" This person, I know not why, is by many supposed to have beer [9] *Nimbrod:* and, misled by this notion, somebod (for I know not to whom the mistake is originall to be attributed) has presumed to rectify the onl thing in the list, which did not want amendment and to transpose the order of these princes. Ὁ Χαλδαιοι πρωτοι ανηγορευσαν ἑαυτες ϛασιλεις, ὧν πρωτος Ευηχοος, ὁ παρ ἡμιν Νευρωδ, εβασιλευσεν.

Ευηχοος	ετη	ϛ
Χομασϐολος		ζ
Πωρος		λε
Νεχωϐις		μγ
Αβιος		μη
Ονιβαλλος		μ
Ζινζιρος		με

"The *Chaldeans* were the first who styled them-"selves kings: the first of which was *Evechous,*

[9] *Cedrenus* has copied this notion. pag. 11. edit. Par. Εκαλειτο δε ὁ Νεϐρωδ και Ευηχοος. *Perizonius* is much dissatisfied with *Vossius* for not being of the same opinion. *Jac. Perizon.* Orig. Babylonicæ. pag 326.

" whom we call [10] *Nimbrod.*" Whoever compiled these dynasties, has introduced as first what originally stood second; mistaking *Chus* for *Nimbrod*, the father for the son: and by this means he has well nigh ruined the only part of the history, that is genuine. The order was undoubtedly thus:

Χομασβολος	*Chomasbolus*
Ευηχοος	*Evechous*
Πωρος	*Porus*

It is an account of the genealogy of *Ham* and *Chus;* and, as it would insinuate, of the *Cusean* princes, who were descended from them. The first *Chomasbolus*, or, as it should be read, *Chamasbolus*, is *Ham*, the principal of the line. *Ham*, or, as he is often called, *Cham*, signifies " swart, black, " sunburnt:" and *asbolus* in the *Greek* is of the same purport; and was at first intended for a translation of the former. *Eupolemus*, as quoted by *Alexander Polyhistor*, mentions that *Cham* was called so. [11] Χουμ—ὃν ὑπο Ἑλληνων λεγεσθαι Ασβολον, πατερα των Αιθιοπων. κ. τ. λ. These two *Africanus*, or the person he copied from, has blended together, and constituted the strange name, that is before us. The next in succession is *Evechous*,

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[10] See Universal Hist. vol. 1. pag. 945.

[11] *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. lib. 9. cap 17.

" the great *Chus*," the son of the former. He is at times called *Evechous, Ouachus, Ochus;* as we find his name represented in many of his posterity, who were called from him: of which term of honour I have made ample mention. The third king is Πωρος, *Porus:* which seems to be somewhat grecised. It is derived from [12] אור, fire; from whence came the *Greek* word πυρ: which has been the reason of the initial letter being here prefixed; though there may be found, I believe, some instances among the *Cuseans*, where it has been written in the same manner. It is the same as *Orus*, named sometimes *Alorus;* and what the first king of *Babylon* was called [13] by. In short, this is *Nimbrod*, the son of *Chus*, the son of *Ham* or *Asbolus;* whom *Africanus*, and those that copied him, have been so mistaken about. He is third in descent in *Genesis;* and he is third in this dynasty. He is represented as a powerful monarch, of great renown, and the founder of the city *Babylon*. After his death he was deified by his people, and worshipped under the name of *Alorus;* but by the *Greeks* was called *Orion*. [14] Εγεννηθη δε

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[12] *Plato* in *Cratylo* says the *Greek* word πυρ is of barbarian original; that is, says *Gale*, from the *Hebrew* אור.

[13] Παρα μεν Χαλδαιοις πρωτος ο αρξας αυτων Αλωρος. *Chron. Pasch.* pag. 23.

[14] In the original it is, εκ της φυλης τε Σημ. *Chron. Pasch.* p. 36.

και αλλος εκ της φυλης τε Χαμ, Χες ονοματι, ὁ Αιθιοψ ὁσις εγεννησε τον Νεμβρωδ γιγαντα, τον την Βαβυλωνιαν κτισαντα, ὁν λεγεσιν ὁι Περσαι αποθεωθεντα, και γενομενον εν τοις αςροις τε ουρανε, ὁν τινα καλεσιν Ωριωνα. He first instituted among the *Chaldeans* the worship [15] of fire. Such is the history of *Ham*, and his two immediate descendants.

But, although the three first upon the list may be thus made out, and confirmed; it must not be imagined, that the rest are equally genuine, and to be admitted. They are certainly supposititious, being taken from a dynasty of much later date; but so changed and abridged, that they have hitherto passed undiscovered. Whatever high antiquity they may pretend to, they relate to the list of *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* kings, who reigned from *Nabonasser;* as they are to be found in *Eusebius* and *Syncellus:* but more correctly in *Ptolemy's* astronomical [16] canon. I will therefore take a copy of those kings from *Ptolemy;* and will place the names of the ten kings in the supposed *Chaldean*

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[15] Ουτος πρωτος διδασκει Ασσυριες σεβειν το πυρ. *Chron. Pasch. ex Clementinis.* pag. 29. But this is a mistake; and the *Assyrians* are improperly put for the *Babylonians;* who in these times were a very different people, and ought to be distinguished.

[16] *Ptolemy's* Canon published by Dr. *Bainbridge* at *Oxford. Eusebii* Histor. Συναγωγη pag. 397.

and *Arabian* dynasties by them, as they seem to correspond: and they will be found to be the same.

Babylonian kings.	*Chaldean* and *Arabian* kings.
Salmanasser or *Nabonasser*	
Nadius, Nabius of *Euseb.*	*Abius* and *Gabius*
Chinzirus and *Porus*	*Zinzirus* and *Porus*
Jugæus	
Mardoc Empadus	*Mardocentes*
Arkianus	
Interreg.	
Belibius	
Apronadius	
Aporanidisus of *Syncell.*	*Parannus*
Aparanadisus of *Euseb.*	
Rigabelus	
Erigebelus of *Euseb.*	*Oniballus*
Mesessimordacus	*Sisimadochus*
Interreg.	*Sisimardochus* of *Syncell.*
Assar Addinus	
Saosducheus	
Chyniladanus	
Nobopallassarus	
Nabocolassarus	
Nobochodonosor of *Euseb.*	*Nechobis*
Ilvarodamus	
Niricassolassarus	
Nabonadius	*Nabonabus*

We may observe, that though the second list be defective and somewhat varied, yet, as far as it goes,

it corresponds with the dynasty of *Ptolemy;* and relates to princes of a much later date, than is pretended. It is therefore surprising, that so many very learned men should admit both the dynasties into their histories; and not perceive, that the one was a bad copy of the other. The greatest wonder is, that so knowing and inquisitive a genius, as *Scaliger*, should have been imposed upon by this idle account of *Chaldean* and *Arabian* kings: and that he should, upon the demise of these, make an union of the two kingdoms, place *Belus* at the head, and thence constitute a mighty empire, that never had a being. [17] *Ultimo hoc Rege debellato, Belus anno* XXVII *imperii sui Assyriorum imperium cum Babylonio conjunxit.* The admission of these reigns into chronological computation, with that of *Belus*, who never existed, makes an error of 443 years. These supposed antient kings of *Babylonia* are in reality the successors to *Pul* and *Tiglath-pulasser;* and have been taken from a very faulty and imperfect copy of the latter. At the same time the names of *Ham*, *Chus*, and *Porus*, have been prefixed; to make the list more specious, and to give it a seeming antiquity. From the reign of *Pul* of *Assyria* some light may be obtained, in prosecuting the history of these kingdoms: but antecedent to this monarch, we have little more than the

[17] *Scalig.* Canon. Isagog. lib. 2. pag. 137.

names of *Assyrian* kings; of which scarce any have been so preserved by tradition, that they may now be depended upon. As to the princes of *Babylon*, between *Amraphel* and *Nabonasser*, few memorials are left in an interval of at least twelve hundred years. The names of those, which have been transmitted us, have been discovered to be for the most part spurious, or else of a later date.

SOME REMARKS

ON

THE CANON OF PTOLEMY.

THE canon of *Ptolemy*, which I have just spoken of, has been universally received, and esteemed particularly authentic: yet even this, I think, however celebrated, is not without exception. The learned chronologer, when he compiled it, seems to have detected the fallacy of the *Chaldean* and *Arabian* list; and to have found it an imperfect copy of a series of princes, who reigned many ages later. He therefore corrected, and new modelled the catalogue according to the best evidence of the times, which it related to: and ascribed to every king the just number of years, that history allotted to his reign, from *Nabonasser* downwards. In effecting this, he struck off the two first upon the other list, *Chamasbolus* and *Evechous*, as he knew that they were rather the heads of a family than princes; and of undoubted antiquity. They could not therefore be

inserted in this latter series. But falling into the common error, and mistaking *Evechous* for *Nimbrod*, that is, as I before said, the father for the son, he has still retained one too many; and brought down *Porus* with the others, who should have been left with the two preceding. His embarrassment in consequence of this is very apparent: for there is no place for this supernumerary to be inserted in, without violating the order established, and contradicting some part of history. There is indeed some reason to think, that the catalogue was too much crowded before. *Porus* therefore could have no interval assigned him; but stands always collateral with *Chinzirus;* and is never found in succession like the rest. He is certainly foreign to the list; and the place he really belongs to, I have shewn before. *Ptolemy* however did not act unwittingly in joining him with *Chinzirus:* though he is far separated in the spurious list above mentioned. There was some intimation, some authority, that determined him in thus placing them together. Whether he was aware of any relation, that subsisted between them, I know not: but there is reason to think, that they were the same person. I have mentioned from *Theophanes*, *Cyrillus*, and *Cedrenus*, a person of antient times, whom they term *Nizarus;* but by *Constantine Porphyrogennetus* he is called *Zenarus*, and is supposed to have been the head of the *Arabian* families. He is the

same as the *Zinzirus*, and *Chinzirus* in these lists; and more truly called [1] *Chenarus*. It was a title rather than a name, as I have observed of other antient appellations; and was given to several kings in the first ages, but especially to *Nimbrod*: so that it creates a suspicion that *Chinzirus*, as well as *Porus*, should be removed from the canon of *Ptolemy*.

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[1] *Chenarus* king of *Egypt*. It is sometimes put for *Chan-Orus*, sometimes for *Chan-Arez*.

OF

THE CHALDEANS,

AND

THEIR ORIGINAL.

I HAVE shewn, that the distinction made by *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and others, between *Chaldean* and *Arabian* kings, is void of all foundation: and, were the list, that they produce, genuine, it would determine the point against them. All that can be esteemed true in the series they produce, is the names of those, who are foremost in the list. And, however mistaken they may have been in those that follow; yet, setting them aside, we may learn, in respect to the *Chaldeans*, what was the opinion of these writers, and what tradition had taught them; that *Ham*, *Chus*, and *Nimbrod* were the heads of this nation. And as the *Chaldeans* were the most antient inhabitants of the country called by their name; there are no other principals, to whom we may refer their [1] original. They seem to have been

[1] The *Chaldeans* were as antient as the empire of *Babylonia*, which commenced under *Nimbrod*, or *Alorus*—Εκ των Αλωρου.

the most early constituted, and settled, of any people upon earth: and from their situation it appears, and from every other circumstance, that *Chus* was the head of their family, and *Nimbrod* their first king.[2] They seem to have been the only people, that did not migrate at the general dispersion: and the center of their province was at *Ur*, not far from the conflux of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. From hence they extended themselves under the names of *Cuseans* and *Arabians*, as far as *Egypt* west, and eastward to the *Ganges*; occupying to the south all the *Asiatic* seacoast, and the whole of the large continent of *Arabia*: and from thence they passed the *Erythrean* gulf, and penetrated into *Ethiopia*. They were continually incroaching upon those, that were nearest to them; and even trespassed upon their own brotherhood. In process of time they got full possession of *Egypt*, and the whole coast of *Africa* upon the *Mediterranean* even to the *Atlantic* ocean, as far as *Fez* and *Taffilet*: and are to be found within the tropics almost as low as the *Gold coast*. Upon the *Gambia* is the king of *Barsally*, of *Arabian* extraction, as are all the *Phooley* nations; who retain their original language, and are of the religion

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Ταυτα μεν ὁ Βηρωσσος ἱστορησε, πρωτον γενεσθαι βασιλεα Αλωρον εκ Βαβυλωνος *Euseb.* Chron. Λογ. Πρωτ. pag. 5.

[2] *Syncellus.* pag. 50.

of *Mahomet*. One of these, *Job Ben Solomon* by name, was not many years since in *England*. He had been unjustly seized on by a prince, his neighbour, and carried to *America*, where he was sold for a slave: but writing an affecting account of his misfortune in his native tongue, it raised the curiosity, as well as pity, of some persons of consequence in these parts; who redeemed him, and sent for him [3] over; and having shewn him singular marks of favour, at his request dispatched him to his own country.

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[3] He came to *England* in 1730.—See *Moore's* Travels into the inner parts of *Africa*.

OF

CHESED, THE SON OF NAHOR.

I AM well aware, that many people suppose the *Chaldeans* to have been thus denominated from *Chesed*, who was the son of *Nahor*, the brother of *Abraham*. [1] *Dicti Chasdim, seu Chasdæi (vulgo Chaldæi, facilioris soni causâ) sic denominati sunt a* כשד *Chesed filio Nachor, fratris Abrahami, qui una cum filiis et posteris dictam urbem Ur, et tandem totam illam regionem inhabitârunt.* This is very extraordinary: and spoken without the least historical evidence to support it. *Chesed*, the third son out of eight, who is mentioned but once, and then without any history annexed, is supposed to have given name to a very distinguished and celebrated people, and to the country, which they inhabited; merely because his name was *Chesed*, and theirs *Chasdim*. The sacred historian seems industriously to specify this country. We are informed, [2] that *Terah* departed with his son *Abra-*

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[1] *Hyde* Relig. Vet. Persar. cap. 2. pag. 75.

[2] *Gen.* 11. v. 29. 31.

ham out of *Ur* of the *Chaldees:* that *Haran* died in *Ur* of the *Chaldees;* and that it was the place of his nativity. With what propriety could all this be said, and reiterated, if the land was not thus denominated till the time of *Chesed*, who was not yet in being; or rather, till the time of his [1] descendants, if he had any, which must have been still later? The learned *Hyde* tells us, that it was spoken proleptically. The *Greeks* indeed, who often called people, and countries by names, which were not applicable to them till many ages after the time in question, made use of a very plausible and convenient figure, by which they thought to atone for a multitude of mistakes. Yet this misapplication of terms was an error, however rhetorically they might defend it: and such as is seldom to be found in the sacred writers. *Moses* is ever particularly careful to certify and distinguish: and has just been giving an exact detail of the descendants of *Noah*, after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations. It is therefore injurious to imagine the sacred writer guilty of an unnecessary anticipation: and we take off greatly

[1] This notion of *Chesed* giving name to the *Chaldeans* is exactly similar to the account before mentioned of *Amalek* the son of *Eliphaz*, the supposed father of the *Amalekites;* where, for the sake of a name, a whole series of history is set aside. There is no accounting for this infatuation, with which so many learned men have been possessed.

from the peculiar excellence of the *Mosaic* history, which upon examination turns out so wonderfully precise and true, by making so unfair a supposition. Besides, it would not in this place be merely a rhetorical figure: it really would not be true. The words of *Moses* are not at large, that *Haran* died in *Chaldea;* but descriptive, that he died in *Ur* of the *Chaldees.* And the Apostle tells us, that [4] "he "came from the land of the *Chaldees.* There must therefore have been at that time people of such denomination: otherwise we have a nation referred to, which did not exist: and this we can hardly suppose. In short, the *Chasdim* are no other than the *Chusdim,* the sons of *Chus;* who first took possession of the country, which we have been speaking of; and likewise held *Babylon.* All history, which treats of these early times bears evidence to this.[5] They sent out numerous tribes

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[4] *Acts.* 7. v. 4.

[5] Sure there never was introduced into writing a figure so fatal as this *prolepsis:* there is nothing can withstand it: no evidence is so plain and positive, no authority so indisputable, but it is liable to be set aside. If any proof or authority could have had weight, I should have thought the following would have prevailed.

Abraham primam ætatem apud Chaldæos agebat. Euseb. Chron. Hieron. Interprete. pag. 9.

Οι Χαλδαιοι πρωτοι απηγορευσαν ἑαυτες βασιλεις· ὧν πρωτος Ευηχοος. *Euseb.* Chron. Λογ. Πρωτ. pag. 14.

and colonies, which were styled *Cuseans* and *Arabians*. *Africanus* and his followers did not consider this in the list, they have given of *Babylonish* kings. For finding those princes called sometimes *Arabians*, and sometimes *Chaldeans;* and not knowing that by these terms one and the same nation was meant, they made an unfortunate distinction: and in the supposed dynasty, with which

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Παρα μεν Χαλδαιοις πρωτος ὁ αρξας αυτων Αλωρος. *Chron. Pasch.* pag. 23.

Τω βιῳ ετει του κοσμου οἱ Χαλδαιοι πρωτον απηγορευσαν ἑαυτους βασιλευειν. *Syncellus.* pag. 90.

Ταυτα μεν ουν εγενηθη εν γῃ Χαλδαιων. *Theophilus* ad Autol. lib. 2. of the tower of *Babel*, and the dispersion of mankind.

Αβρααμ—την πρωτην ἡλικιαν παρα Χαλδαιοις ποιειται. *Euseb.* Epit. Chron. pag. 228.

The same is said in the *Pasch. Chron.* pag. 49.

Εκ των Απολλωδωρου. Ταυτα μεν ὁ Βηρωσσος ἱστορησι. πρωτον γενεσθαι βασιλεα Αλωρον εκ Βαβυλωνος Χαλδαιον. *Euseb.* Chron. Λογ. Πρωτ. pag. 5.

Add to these, what I have mentioned from the Scripture; that "*Haran* died in *Ur* of the *Chaldees:*" that "*Abraham* and "his family went forth from *Ur* of the *Chaldees;*" *Gen.* 11. v. 28. 31. "God brought *Abraham* out of *Ur* of the *Chaldees.*" *Nehemiah* 9. v. 7. "*Abraham* came out of the land of the "*Chaldeans.*" *Acts* 7. v. 4.

These are strong proofs of the most early existence of the *Chaldean* nation: all which are set aside for the sake of one *Chesed*, a person never mentioned till the 140th year of *Abraham:* which *Chesed* was born at *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*, and was never, that we know of, in *Chaldea;* nor had he any connection with it.

they have presented us, they have made a division to the best of their judgment, and given a share to each. Herein they were mistaken: but this does not invalidate their testimony in respect to the chief point. *Babylon* was certainly in the possession of the *Chaldeans:* and though the names of the kings, as they are transmitted by *Africanus*, be not genuine; yet a dynasty of kings did exist. They were moreover descended from *Chus* and *Ham:* and after a succession of princes, whose duration cannot be found, they were at last ejected by the *Assyrians*. For this there is the evidence of the best profane history; and it is in a great degree confirmed by the Scriptures.

Such was the original of the *Chaldeans*. But had they been derived from any other source; yet it could never have been such, as the learned *Hyde* supposes. For as to *Chesed* being their common father, it is not only, as I have shewn, preposterous in itself; but absolutely impossible: for he was never, that we know, in *Chaldea*, nor had any connection with it. The Scripture itself will prove what I assert. It is said, when *Terah* left that part of the world, that he [6] "took *Abram* his son, and "*Lot* the son of *Haran* his son's son, and *Sarai* "his daughter-in-law, his son *Abram*'s wife; and "they went forth with them from *Ur* of the *Chal-*

[6] *Gen.* 11. v. 31.

" *dees*, to go into the land of *Canaan;* and they " came unto *Haran.*" *Abram*, *Lot*, and *Sarai*, together with *Terah*. are the only persons specified: yet there were certainly more. In the next chapter (12. v. 1.) we are informed, that [7] " the Lord " said (or had said) unto *Abram*, Get thee out of " thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy " father's house, unto a land, that I will shew " thee:" and (v. 4.) " So *Abram* departed, as the " Lord had spoken to him; and *Lot* went with " him: and *Abram* was seventy and five years " old, when he departed out of *Haran.*" The command given was not only to leave his country, but his kindred, and his father's house: and he obeyed; that is, he went from *Haran*, and left them: so that others besides *Abram* and *Lot* followed *Terah* to *Haran*. For unless we suppose *Nahor* and others to have resided there; *Terah* being dead, and *Lot* going with him, there was nothing left for *Abram* to quit; no kindred, no fa-

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[7] Some difference has been observed in the interpretation of this passage. See *Acts* 7. v. 2. Whichever be the true reading, it affects not my argument: for whether the command were given in *Chaldea*, or at *Haran*, the completion of it was certainly at the latter place: and so it was understood by *Eusebius*. Ἑως ὁυ ηλθεν Αϐρααμ εκ Μεσοποταμιας, εκ πολεως Χαῤῥαν, και τȣ οικȣ τȣ πατρος αυτȣ, κατα κελευσιν Θεȣ, εις γην Χαναὰν, ἡ εςι Παλαιςινη, ετη χις. Hist. Συναγωγ. pag. 373. See also *Euseb.* Epitome Chron. pag. 228.

mily, no father's house to leave: and the command is introduced unnecessarily, and out of its place, if it is where *Abram* could not act in consequence of it. We may therefore be assured, that *Nahor* went with *Terah* to *Haran*, and dwelt there. *Milcah*, his wife, was with *Bethuel* and *Laban*, when [8] *Abram* sent his servant to the city of *Nahor*. In process of time *Isaac* sends *Jacob* to the same place, to the house of *Bethuel*: [9] "Arise, go to *Padan-aram*, to "the house of *Bethuel* thy mother's father—And "*Isaac* sent away *Jacob*: and he went to *Padan-* "*aram* unto *Laban* son of *Bethuel*." And this house of *Bethuel*, the place of residence of *Laban*, is past contradiction specified by *Rebecca*, when she lays her pressing injunctions on *Jacob*: [10] "Now "therefore, my son, obey my voice: and arise, flee "thou to *Laban* my brother, to *Haran*:" by which we find, that the city of *Haran*, the city of *Nahor*, and the house of *Bethuel* were the same place. It is plain then, that *Nahor* resided at *Haran* after the death of *Terah*, and after the departure of *Abram* to *Canaan*: and that his children lived there after him. These children were eight in number, born after *Abram* had left the place: for above sixty years afterwards, when

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[8] *Gen.* 24. v. 53.
[9] Ibid. 28. v. 2.
[10] Ibid. 27. v. 43.

Abram was about 140 years old, it had been told him; [u] "Behold *Milcah*, she hath also born chil-"dren unto thy brother *Nahor*." The names of them are mentioned in the passage; and *Chesed* was the third of the eight. Out of this family *Abraham* sent to take a wife for his son *Isaac*; who married *Rebecca* the grand-daughter of *Nahor*. And *Jacob* afterwards upon a like occasion went to the same city, to *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*; and married *Leah* and *Rachel*, who were the descendants of the same person in the third degree. This then was the city of *Nahor*; and here was *Chesed* born: and we have no more reason to think that he went and dwelt in *Chaldea*, than that he travelled to *India*, or *Ethiopia*. So that he could have no personal knowledge of the country, nor any connection with it: much less can he be esteemed the father of the *Chaldeans*, who were constituted a nation before he was born, and before the birth of his grandsire.

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[u] *Gen.* 22. v. 20.

SOME

OBSERVATIONS

ON

THE DISPERSION OF MANKIND,

IN REFERENCE TO PAGE 190.

I have taken notice before, that, some generations after the flood, there was a partition of the earth among the sons of *Noah*, which was done by divine appointment. It is a subject, which has been canvassed by several writers;[1] many of whom do not allow, that there was any particular division; but only a general dispersion. *Bochart* is of this opinion; who after mentioning many passages out of the Scriptures, which he did not sufficiently weigh, concludes with this corollary; that "all lands may "be said to be by allotment, and all the free gift "of God: and where the Scriptures are silent, it "is idle to form surmises."[2] *Scripturâ tacente,*

[1] *Hyde* Relig. Vet. Persar. pag. 61. 65.

[2] Geogr. Sacr. pars prior. lib. 1. cap. 16.

nostrum non est hæc divinare.—Quamcunque terram occupamus, illam Deus se dedisse dicit, et vult sibi acceptam referri. In answer to this, I must take notice, that the Scriptures are not silent upon this head: and what we find mentioned in them, must not be taken in so lax and indefinite a manner; there being nothing in them, that can in the least countenance this notion of a general and indeterminate dissipation. I shall not take upon me to settle the time, when this great event happened: let it suffice, that it did happen; that there was a particular rule and order observed in the distribution, and the whole by God's appointment. That there was a partition, is evident from the words of *Moses*, saying; [3] "By these were the isles "of the *Gentiles* divided." [4] "In his days [*Pha-* "*leg*'s] the earth was divided." [5] "By these "were the nations divided in the earth after the "flood." These texts I should think sufficient: but in another place this divine writer speaks more particularly to the purpose; and his account is so plain and circumstantial, as to leave no room for uncertainty. It is in that noble and prophetic hymn, one of the most sublime compositions, that ever was penned; where he pours forth his soul to

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[3] *Gen.* 10. v. 5.
[4] 1 *Chron.* 1. v. 19.
[5] *Gen.* 10. v. 32.

God, and at the same time addresses himself to the people, whom he had so long conducted, and was now going to leave for ever. [6] "Remember," says he, "the days of old, consider the years of many "generations: ask thy father, and he will shew "thee, thy elders, and they will tell thee. When "the most High divided to the nations their inhe-"ritance, when he separated the sons of *Adam*, he "set the bounds of the people according to the "number of the children of *Israel*. For the Lord's "portion is his people; *Jacob* is the lot of his "inheritance." This is too particular to be cursorily passed over. We are told, that the nations of the earth had an inheritance assigned them; and that it was by divine appointment. Moreover, that at the general dispersion it pleased God to have a provident regard for a nation, which was to come, even for the sons of *Israel:* and in the distribution of countries had set bounds to other families, that they should not trespass upon the inheritance of *Jacob*, which was his own portion. Thus limits were prescribed according to the necessities of a people to come, and to the space, which would be requisite for their numbers to inherit. In other words, the land of *Canaan* was excepted out of the general partition. This space was usurped by the people who gave name to it. They knew the di-

[6] *Deut.* 32. v. 7, 8, 9.

vine allotment; yet wilfully transgressed: on which account they brought themselves and their posterity under the severest curse; and justified every thing which they afterwards suffered for their rebellion: though at the time of their punishment, their guilt was accumulated with additional wickedness and apostacy.

What I have mentioned above, St. *Paul* likewise alludes to: [7] Εποιησε τε εξ ενος αιματος παν εθνος ανθρωπων κατοικειν επι παν το προσωπον της γης, ορισας προτεταγμενους καιρους, και τας οροθεσιας της κατοικιας αυτων. This in our version is translated too indefinitely: and should not be, "God *hath* made, and *hath* deter-"mined," but, "God made," or, "did make of "one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all "the face of the earth, and determined the times "before appointed, and the *bounds of their habi-*"*tation.*" It refers to a particular time, and ordinance; the same that is spoken of by *Moses*. And it affords us this additional information: that not only the place of residence for each family, but the time likewise of the migration was by God's appointment. This was the sense of many of the fathers upon this subject, and particularly of *Eusebius*. [8] Μερισμος γης. Τω βροβ στει τε κοσμω, ενα-

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[7] *Acts* 17. v. 26.

[8] *Euseb.* Chronic. Λογος Πρωτ. pag. 10. *Syncellus* pag. 90. as quoted above, mentions this infringement and usurpation of the

κοσιοςῳ τριακοσιοςῳ ετει τȣ Νωε, κατα ΘΕΙΟΝ δηλονοτι ΧΡΗΣΜΟΝ, εμερισε Νωε τοις τρισιν ὑιοις αυτȣ την γην. He afterwards proceeds to mention the infringement of this divine ordinance, and the consequences of it: νεωτερισας ὁ τȣ Χαμ ὑιος Χανααν επεβη τοις ὁριοις τȣ Σημ, και κατῳκησεν εκει, παραβας την εντολην Νωε, κ. τ. λ. whose posterity he afterwards tells us was destroyed by *Moses* and *Joshua*: ὡς δια Μωσεως και Ιησȣ τȣ Ναυη εξωλοθρευσεν ὁ Θεος.

This may serve to explain a passage in Scripture, which has been the cause of much perplexity. It is mentioned [9] that *Ham* the son of *Noah* had been guilty of a great breach of duty, and want of reverence to his father: that when *Noah* awoke, and was sensible of what his younger son had done, [10] "He said, cursed be *Canaan*; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of *Shem*; and *Canaan* shall be his servant." It has seemed to many persons extraordinary, that, as *Ham* was the person guilty, he should be passed over without any animadversion: and that the curse should devolve to *Canaan*, who does not seem to have been

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Canaanites, and the attack made upon them for that outrage by the family of *Shem*: Τῳ $\overline{\beta\omega\lambda\eta}$ ετει τȣ κοσμȣ, τȣ δε Φαλεκ $\overline{\xi\zeta}$ ετει, Καϊναν απεθανεν· και οἱ ὑιοι τȣ Σημ επολεμησαν προς τȣς ὑιȣς Χαμ περι των ὁριων της Παλαιςινης.

[9] *Gen.* 9. v. 22.

[10] Ibid. 9. v. 25, 26.

at all an accomplice. But it must be observed, that these words are not so much to be esteemed a curse vented out of resentment against *Ham* and *Canaan*, for what had been done, as a prophetic denunciation of disobedience in time to come, and of the evils in consequence of it: and even then not uttered for their sakes, but upon account of others of another family, who were to come after, and to be instructed by it. It is very common with the sacred historian in the early accounts, which he gives us, to specify, what immediately relates to the grand purpose in hand; and to omit every thing else, which is not connected with it. Many things alluded to were well known at the time he wrote: it was therefore sufficient to extract, what was essential; and to give a sample for the whole. This may be observed in the [11] history of *Lamech*, of a [12] conquest made by *Jacob*, in the [13] fragment upon the conquest of *Heshbon*; and in other places. In the passage, I am speaking of, there is reason to think, that a great deal preceded what is here mentioned by *Moses*; and that we have only a part of the original prophecy. From the tenor of what remains, we may perhaps form some judgment of what is omitted. It is probable, that at this season

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[11] *Gen.* 4. v. 23.

[12] Ibid. 48. v. 22.

[13] *Numb.* 21. v. 27.

the patriarch disclosed, what was to happen in after times, especially to the son, who had aggrieved him. There is, I think, an apparent chasm and failure; which may with great probability be filled up, from what seems to be implied in this curse upon *Canaan*. It is very reasonable to suppose, that *Noah* told *Ham* of the future apostacy of his children: that the same want of reverence, which *Ham* had witnessed, would be visible in his posterity: That the second in descent from him should be the first [14] rebel upon earth; and at the same time the first tyrant, who should usurp authority over his brethren: That of the race of *Cush* should be a daring confederacy, who at the general dispersion should withstand the divine dispensation, and arrogate to themselves territories in direct opposition to the will of God: That a chosen people were to arise; and that there was for them a particular land ordained: but that *Canaan* and his sons, another branch of his family, should disregard this ordinance, and seize upon the land, which was destined for God's own portion. Then comes in the part to the purpose; "Cursed be *Canaan;* a servant of "servants shall he be unto his brethren:" and "Blessed be the Lord God of *Shem;* and *Canaan* "shall be his servant." Of this nature I take to have been the original prophecy: and good reason

[14] The name *Nimbrod* signifies a rebel.

may be given, why one part is omitted, and the other retained. The former part is omitted by the divine writer, as unnecessary to be related; being either mentioned or implied in the common course of the history. On the other hand, the propriety of inserting, what is specified, is apparent. It was a prophecy, that related most intimately to the *Israelites;* who, when this history was promulged, were upon their journey to *Canaan*, the land adjudged to them for an inheritance, but occupied by others. It was to inform them first, that the *Canaanites* had no right to the land, which they possessed: that they had been guilty of an undue usurpation: and were under the curse of God for their determined and obstinate disobedience: therefore for that reason they could not prosper against the *Israelites*. That the *Israelites* were going to their hereditary demesnes; to a land originally designed for them by the great disposer of thrones and kingdoms: that the blessing, entailed upon the sons of *Shem*, particularly belonged to the children of *Jacob;* in whom the prophecy was to be completed, and to whom the *Canaanite* was to be subservient. The time, the place, every circumstance shews with what propriety this part of the prophecy is retained: and at the same time it is evident, that something had preceded, which is omitted by *Moses*, as unnecessary to be related.

From the foregoing we may see good reason for the severities shewn towards the *Canaanites:* whom

if it had pleased God to have swallowed up quick with an earthquake, or extirpated by fire from heaven; nobody could have arraigned his justice. But as he was pleased to make use of an arm of flesh, and to employ the *Israelites* as ministers of his vengeance; many have presumed to call in question the equity of the proceeding, and to represent it as an instance of injustice and cruelty. Whereas the intention of Providence, in the instruments it made use of, is apparent. It was to make the *Israelites* detest these nations and their horrid customs; and to be detested by them: and to render them inexcusable, if after such severities exercised upon this people, they should theirselves hereafter lapse into the same apostacy and disobedience. To question whether God could in justice act thus in respect to the *Canaanites*, and whether he did right in chusing such implements of his vengeance, is a doubt as idle as it is impious. How the rebellion of the *Canaanites* was aggravated, and what were their crying sins, may be gathered from many parts of the Scriptures; but especially from the book of *Wisdom*, where they are particularly displayed: [15] "For it was thy will (O Lord) to "destroy by the hands of our fathers, both those "old inhabitants of thy holy land; Whom thou "hatedst for doing most odious works of witch-

[15] Chap. 12. v. 3, 4, 5, 6. 11.

" crafts, and wicked sacrifices; And also those " merciless murderers of children, and devourers " of man's flesh, and the feasts of blood; With " their priests out of the midst of their idolatrous " crew, and the parents that killed with their own " hands, souls destitute of help;—For it was a " cursed seed from the beginning." This may serve to vindicate the dispensations of Providence in this particular; and its just retributions on a rebellious and wicked people.

ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΘΥΣΙΑ

ΚΑΙ

ΤΕΚΝΟΘΥΣΙΑ.

ONE would think it scarce possible, that so unnatural a custom, as that of human sacrifices, should have existed in the world: but it is very certain, that it did not only exist, but almost universally prevail. I have before taken notice, that the *Egyptians* of old brought no victims to their temples, nor shed any blood at their altars: but human victims, and the blood of men must be here excepted; which at one [1] period they most certainly offered to their gods. The [2] *Cretans* had the same custom; and adhered to it a much longer time. The nations of *Arabia* did the same. The people of [3] *Dumah* in particular sacrificed every year a

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[1] *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. lib. 4. cap. 16. *Arnobius.* lib. 2.

[2] Φοινικες δε και Κρητες τον Κρονον εν ταις τελεθυσιαις αυτων ἐλασκοντο. *Athanas.* Orat. adversus Gentes. *Herodotus* lib. 4. says the same of the *Scythians.* See also *Porph.* de Abstinentiâ. lib. 2. pag. 224. from *Manetho.*

[3] Και Δυματιοι δε της Αραβιας κατ' ετος ἑκαστον ἐθυον παιδα, ὑπο Ελληνων ἐθανατον, ᾧ χρωνται ὡς ξοανῳ. *Porph.* de Abstin. lib. 2.

child; and buried it underneath an altar, which they made use of instead of an idol: for they did not admit of images. The *Persians* buried people alive. *Amestris*, the [4] wife of *Xerxes*, entombed twelve persons quick under ground for the good of her soul. It would be endless to enumerate every city, or every province, where these sad practices obtained. The [5] *Cyprians*, the *Rhodians*, the *Phoceans*, the *Ionians*, those of *Chios*, *Lesbos*, *Tenedos*, all had human sacrifices. The natives of the *Tauric Chersonesus* offered up to *Diana* every stranger, whom chance threw upon their coast. Hence arose that just expostulation in [6] *Euripides*, upon the inconsistency of the proceeding; wherein much good reasoning is implied. *Iphigenia* wonders, as the goddess delighted in the blood of men, that every villain and murderer should be privileged to escape; nay, be driven from the threshold of the temple: whereas, if an honest and virtuous man chanced to stray thither, he only was seized upon, and put to death. The *Pelasgi*, in a time of

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pag. 225. These people are mentioned *Isaiah*, chap. 21. "The "burthen of the desert of the sea"—"The burthen of *Dumah*."

[4] Αμηστρις δε ἡ Ξερξου γυνη δωδεκα κατωρυξεν ανθρωπους ζωντας ὑπερ ἀυτης. *Plutarch.* Περι Δεισιδαιμονιας.

[5] *Clem. Alexandrin.* Cohort. ad Gentes. vol. 1. pag. 36. edit. Potter. See also *Porphyry* above quoted.

[6] *Euripid.* Iphigen. in Tauris.

Τα της Θεου δε μεμφομαι σοφισματα, κ. τ. λ.

scarcity vowed the tenth of all, that should be born to them, for a sacrifice in order to procure plenty. *Aristomenes* the *Messenian* [7] slew three hundred noble *Lacedemonians*, among whom was *Theopompus* the king of *Sparta*, at the altar of *Jupiter* at *Ithome*. Without doubt the *Lacedemonians* did not fail to make ample returns: for they were a severe and revengeful people, and offered the like victims to *Mars*. Their festival of the *Diamastigosis* is well known; [8] when the *Spartan* boys were whipped in the sight of their parents with such severity before the altar of *Diana Orthia*, that they often expired under the torture. *Phylarchus* affirms, as he is quoted by [9] *Porphyry*, that of old every *Grecian* state made it a rule, before they marched towards an enemy, to solicit a blessing on their undertakings by human victims.

The *Romans* were accustomed to the like sacrifices. They both devoted themselves to the infernal gods, and constrained others to submit to the same horrid doom. Hence we read in [10] *Titus Livius*, that in the consulate of *Æmilius Paulus* and *Terentius Varro*, two *Gauls*, a man and a woman,

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[7] *Clem. Alexand.* Cohort. pag. 36. *Porphyry* above.

[8] *Plutarch.* Institutiones Laconicæ. He says, that the cruelty lasted all day long; δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας—μέχρι θανάτου πολλαὶς καρτέρουσι.

[9] De Abstinentiâ. lib. 2. pag. 226.

[10] Lib. 22. cap. 57. *Zonaræ* Annales. lib. 8. cap. 19.

and two in like manner of *Greece*, were buried alive at *Rome* in the *Ox-Market:* where was a place under ground, walled round to receive them; which had before been made use of for such cruel purposes. He says, it was a sacrifice not properly *Roman;* that is, not originally of *Roman* institution: yet it was frequently practised there, and that too by public authority. *Plutarch* makes mention of a like instance a few years before, in the consulship of [11] *Flaminius* and *Furius*. There is reason to think, that for a long time, all the principal captives, who graced the triumphs of the *Romans*, were at the close of that cruel pageantry put to death at the altar of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. *Caius Marius* offered up his own daughter for a victim to the *Dii Averrunci*, to procure success in a battle against the *Cimbri;* as we are informed by *Dorotheus*, quoted by [12] *Clemens*. It is likewise attested by [13] *Plutarch*, who says that her name was *Calpurnia*. *Marius* was a man of a sour and bloody disposition; and had probably heard of such sacri-

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[11] Δυο μεν Ἕλληνας, ανδρα και γυναικα, δυο δε Γαλατας ὁμοιως, εν τῃ καλουμενῃ βουν αγορᾳ κατορυξαι ζωντας. In Marcello. vol. 4. p. 547. edit. H. Steph. See *Dionysius Halicarnass.* Histor. lib. 1.

[12] Ὁ δε τοις Αφροδισιοις Μαριος, ὡς Δωροθεος εν τῃ τεταρτῃ Ιταλικων ἱστορει. *Clem. Alex.* Cohort. ad Gentes.

[13] *Plutarchi* Parallel. 20[mum]. The name of this person in *Plutarch* is *Manius:* whoever it may have been, the fact is the same: it takes not at all from the evidence of the history.

fices being offered in the enemies camp, among whom they were very common: or he might have beheld them exhibited at a distance: and therefore murdered what was nearest, and should have been dearest, to him; to counteract their fearful spells, and outdo them in their wicked machinery. *Cicero* making mention of this custom being common in *Gaul*, adds, that it prevailed among that people, even at the time when he was [14] speaking: from whence we may be led to infer, that it was then discontinued among the *Romans*. And we are told by [15] *Pliny*, that it had then, and not very long, been discouraged. For there was a law enacted, when *Lentulus* and *Crassus* were consuls, so late as the 657th year of *Rome*, that there should be no more human sacrifices: for till that time those horrid rites had been celebrated in broad day without any mask, or controul: which, had we not the best evidence for the fact, would appear scarce credible.

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[14] *His* [*Gallis*] *quidquam sanctum ac religiosum videri potest, qui etiam, siquando, aliquo metu adducti, Deos placandos esse arbitrantur, humanis hostiis eorum aras ac templa funestant?—Quis enim ignorat eos usque ad hanc diem retinere illam immanem ac barbaram consuetudinem hominum immolandorum? Cicero* pro Fonteio § 10. See *Philippi Cluverii* Germania Antiqua. 1631. Elz. pag. 251. and *Grotius* de Satisfactione.

[15] *Cn. Cornelio Lentulo, P. Licinio Crasso Coss. Senatûs-consultum factum est, ne homo immolaretur: pulamque fuit in tempus illud sacri prodigiosi celebratio. Plin.* Nat. Hist. lib. 30. cap. 1.

And however discontinued they may have been for a time, we find, that they were again renewed; though they became not so public, nor so general. For not very long after this, it is reported of [16] *Augustus Cæsar*, when *Perusia* surrendered in the time of the second *Triumvirate*, that besides multitudes executed in a military manner, he offered up upon the *Ides* of *March* three hundred chosen persons, both of the *Equestrian* and *Senatorian* order, at an altar dedicated to the manes of his uncle *Julius*. Even at *Rome* itself this custom was revived: and [17] *Porphyry* assures us, that in his time a man was every year sacrificed at the shrine of *Jupiter Latiaris*. *Heliogabalus* offered the like victims to the [18] *Syrian* deity, which he introduced among the *Romans*. The same is said of [19] *Aurelian*.

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[16] *Perusiâ captâ—scribunt quidam, trecentos ex dedititiis electos, utriusque Ordinis, ad aram Divo Julio extructam, idibus Martiis, bestiarum more mactatos.* *Suetonius* in Augusto. cap. 15.

[17] Αλλ' ετι και νυν, τις αγνοει κατα την μεγαλην πολιν τη τυ Λατιαριυ Διος ἑορτη σφαζομενον ανθρωπον; *Porph.* de Abstin. lib. 2. pag. 226.

Et Latio in hodiernum Jovi mediâ in Urbe humanus sanguis ingustatur. *Tertullian.* Gnost. cap. 7.

[18] Τω αυτω [Ηλιογαβαλω] εθυε, παιδας σφαγιαζομενος, και μαγγανευμασι χρωμενος. *Xiphilin.* in Heliogab.

[19] *Capitolium Aurelianus invectus, ut illic cæderet servos, quos captos vovisse Jovi Optimo Maximo ferebatur.* *Vopiscus* in Aureliano.

These customs prevailed in most parts of the *Roman* empire till the time of *Adrian*, who took great pains to have them abo-

The *Gauls*, and the *Germans* were so devoted to this shocking custom, that no business of any moment was transacted among them, without being prefaced with the blood of men. They were offered up to various gods; but particularly to *Hesus*, *Taranis*, and *Thautates*. These deities are mentioned by *Lucan*, where he enumerates the various nations, who followed the fortunes of *Cæsar*.

[20] *Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro*
Thautates; horrensque feris altaribus Hesus;
Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.

The altars of these gods were far removed from the common resort of men: being generally situated in the depth of woods; that the gloom might add to the horror of the operation, and give a reverence to the place and proceeding. The persons devoted were led thither by the *Druids*, who presided at the solemnity, and performed the cruel offices of the [21] sacrifice. *Tacitus* takes notice of the cruelty of

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lished; but could not entirely effect it. *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. lib. 4. cap. 15. and *Pallas* quoted by *Porphyry*. lib. 2. pag. 225.

[20] *Lucan.* Pharsalia. lib. 1. v. 444.

[21] *Qui sunt affecti gravioribus morbis, quique in præliis periculisque versantur, aut pro victimis homines immolant, aut se immolaturos vovent; administrisque ad ea sacrificia Druidibus utuntur. —Alii immani magnitudine simulacra habent, quorum contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent, quibus succensis, circumventi flammâ exanimantur homines. Cæsar* de Bello Gallico. lib. 6.

the *Hermunduri*, in a war with the *Catti*, wherein they had greatly the advantage: at the close of which they made one general sacrifice of all, that was taken in battle. [22] *Victor diversam aciem Marti ac Mercurio sacraverat: quo voto, equi, viri, cuncta victa occidioni dantur.* The poor remains of the legions under *Varus* suffered in some degree the same fate. [23] *Lucis propinquis barbaræ aræ, apud quas Tribunos, ac primorum ordinum centuriones mactaverant.* There were many places destined for this purpose all over *Gaul* and *Germany;* but especially in the mighty woods of *Arduenna*, and the great *Hercinian* forest; a wild, that extended above thirty days journey in length. [24] The places set apart for this solemnity were held in the utmost reverence; and only approached at particular seasons. *Lucan* mentions a grove of this sort near *Massilia*, which even the *Roman* soldiers were afraid to violate, though commanded by *Cæsar*. It was one of those set apart for the sacrifices of the country.

[25] *Lucus erat longo nunquam violatus ab ævo,*
Obscurum cingens connexis aëra ramis.

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[22] *Tacitus*. Annal. lib. 13. cap. 57.

[23] Ibid. lib. 1. cap. 61.

[24] *Erici Olai* Historia Suecorum Gothorumque. Holmiæ 1654. pag. 2.

[25] *Lucan*. lib. 3. v. 399.

Hunc non ruricolæ Panes, nemorumque potentes
Sylvani, Nymphæque tenent: sed barbara ritu
Turba Deûm: structæ sacris feralibus aræ,
Omnis et humanis lustrata cruoribus arbos.

Claudian compliments *Stilico*, that, among other advantages accruing to the *Roman* armies through his conduct, they could now venture into the awful forest of *Hercinia*; and follow the chase in those so much dreaded woods, and otherwise make use of them.

[26] *Ut procul Herciniæ per vasta silentia sylvæ*
Venari tutò liceat; lucosque vetustâ
Relligione truces, et robora numinis instar
Barbarici, nostræ feriant impune secures.

These practices prevailed among all the people of the north, of whatever [27] denomination. The *Mas-*

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[26] *Claudian.* in Laudes Stiliconis. lib. 1. v. 228.

[27] *Jornandes* de Rebus Geticis.—of the *Goths.*

Procopius de Bello Goth. lib. 2.—of the *Franks* and other nations.

Trithemius—of the *Sicambri.*

Helmoldi Annal. Sclavorum. lib. 1. cap. 53.—of the *Rugians*, &c.

Dithmar Episc. Mersburg. lib. 1. pag. 12.—of the *Danes* and *Norwegians.*

Tacit. Annal. lib. 14. cap. 30.—of the *Britons* in the island of *Mona. Excisi luci sævis superstitionibus sacri. Nam cruore captivo adolere aras, et hominum fibris consulere Deos, fas habebant.*

sagetæ, the *Scythians*, the *Getes*, the *Sarmatians*, all the various nations upon the *Baltic*, particularly the *Suevi* and *Scandinavians*, held it as a fixed principle, that their happiness and security could not be obtained, but at the expence of the lives of [28] others. Their chief gods were [29] *Thor*, and [30] *Woden*; whom they thought, they could never sufficiently glut with blood. They had many very celebrated places of worship; especially in the island [31] *Rugen*, near the mouth of the *Oder*; and in [32] *Zeeland*: some too very famous among the [33] *Semnones*, and [34] *Naharvalli*. But the most reverenced of all, and the most frequented, was at [35] *Upsal*; where there was every year a grand cele-

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[28] *Quin vulgata inter omnes opinio, ut Crantzius in Vandalicis, lib.* 3. *cap.* 22. *natat, delectari sanguine Deos. P. Hachenberg.* Germania Media. pag. 286.

[29] *Stephanus Stephanius*, quoting *Dudo* of *St. Quintin*, says; *Cæterùm sacrificant venerantes Thur dominum suum; cui non aliquid pecudum, vel pecorum, sed sanguinem mactabant hominum, holocaustum omnium putantes pretiosissimum.* In Librum tertium Saxonis Gram. pag. 93.

[30] *Othinum, qui bellis præsidebat, cruore et morte captivorum placabant; opinantes bellorum præsidem aptiùs humano cruore placari.* Olaus Magnus. lib. 3. cap. 7.

[31] *Crantzius.* lib. 5. cap. 12, 13.

See *Tacitus* de Mor. German. cap. 40. *Est in insulâ Oceani tastum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum.*

[32] *Dithmar* Episc. Mersburg. lib. 1. pag. 12.

[33] *Adam Bremensis* de situ Daniæ. cap. 233.

[34] *Tacitus* de Mor. German. cap. 43.

[35] *Scheifferi* Upsal. cap. 16.

brity, which continued for nine days. During this term they sacrificed animals of all sorts: but the most acceptable victims, and the most numerous were men. [16] *Ipsas victimas apud plerosque commendabat humanus sanguis, effusus ante Deorum aras, et diro carmine devotus: introductâ immani illâ, ac barbarâ Scythârum consuetudine, qui Deos immortales hominum scelere et sanguine placari posse arbitrabantur.* Of these sacrifices none were esteemed so auspicious, and salutary, as a sacrifice of the prince of the country. When the lot fell for the king to die, it was received with universal acclamations, and every expression of joy; as it [17] once happened in the time of a famine, when they cast lots, and it fell to king *Domalder* to be the people's victim: and he was accordingly put

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Olai Wormii Monumenta Danica. lib. 1. cap. 5.

Olai Magni Hist. de Gent. Septentrion. Epitome. lib. 3. cap. 5. Antverp. 1558.

Steirnhook de jure Sueorum et Goth. vetusto cap. ult. p. 399.

[16] *Pauli Hachenbergi P. P.* Germania Media. Dissert. 8. p. 286. cap. 30. p. 287. concerning king *Domalder.*

[17] *Snorro Sturleson.* Ynglinga Saga. pag. 18: from whom *Loccenius* seems to have borrowed the account, which he gives. *Sub eo Rege* [*Domalder*] *tantâ fame Suecia afflicta est, ut ei vix gravior unquam incubuerit. Cives inter se dissidentes, cùm pœnam delictorum divinam agnoscerent, primo anno boves, altero homines, tertio regem ipsum, velut iræ cœlestis piaculum, ut sibi persuasum habebant, Odino immolabant. Loccenii* Antiq. Sueo-Gothicæ. lib. 1. pag. 5.

to death. *Olaus* [38] *Tretelger*, another prince, was burnt alive to *Woden*. They did not spare their own children. *Harald* the son of *Gunild*, the first of that name, slew two of his children to obtain a storm of wind. "He did not let," says [39] *Verstegan*, "to sacrifice two of his sons unto his idols, to the "end he might obtain of them such a tempest at "sea, as should break and disperse the shipping of "*Harald* king of *Denmark*." *Saxo Grammaticus* mentions a like fact. He calls the king *Haquin*; and speaks of the persons put to death, as two very hopeful young princes: [40] *duos præstantissimæ indolis filios, hostiarum more, aris admotos, petiundæ victoriæ causâ, nefariâ litatione mactavit*. Another king slew nine sons, in order to prolong his own [41] life; in hopes, I suppose, that, what they were abridged of, would in great measure be added to himself. Such instances however occur not often: but the common victims were without end. *Adam*

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[38] *Snorro Sturleson*. above.

Chronic. Norvegicum.

Johannes Magnus. lib. 1. cap. 12. Romæ. 1554. *Accidit nonnunquàm reges ipsos eâdem sorte delectos immolari*. He speaks of it as *faustissimum regno sacrificium*.

[39] Antiquities. Antwerp. 1605. pag. 81.

[40] *Saxo Grammaticus*. lib. 10. pag. 183. Soræ 1644. *Patriæ nomine, quàm patriâ, carere maluit*.

[41] *Olaus Wormius*. pag. 28. *Rex Sueciæ Aune novem filios Othino mactavit, ut ætatis obtineret prorogationem*.

Bremensis, speaking of the awful grove at *Upsal*, where these horrid rites were celebrated, says, that there was not a single tree, but what was reverenced, as if it were gifted with some portion of divinity: and all this, because they were stained with gore, and foul with human putrefaction. [42] *Lucus tam sacer est gentilibus, ut singulæ arbores ejus ex morte vel tabo immolatorum divinæ videantur.* The same is observed by *Scheiffer* in his account of this place. [43] *Deorum sacer ille lucus erat: in arboribus singulis Dii ipsi habitare credebantur: ergo ad earum ramos corpora illa, veluti munera quædam Diis gratissima, suspendebant.*

The manner, in which the victims were slaughtered, was diverse in different places. Some of the [44] *Gaulish* nations chined them with a stroke of an ax. The *Celtæ* placed the man, who was to be offered for a sacrifice, upon a block, or an altar, with his breast upwards; and with a sword struck him forcibly across the *sternum:* then tumbling him to the ground, from his agonies and convulsions, as well as from the effusion of blood, they

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[42] *Adam Bremensis* de situ Daniæ. cap. 234.

[43] *Scheiffer* of *Upsal*, and *Eric Olaus* above. *Corpora verò in luco quodam proximo suspendebant, putantes arbores ipsas ex morte immolatorum divas et sacras.*

[44] *Strabo.* lib. 4. pag. 303.

formed a judgment of future [45] events. The [46] *Cimbri* ripped open the bowels; and from them they pretended to divine. In [47] *Norway* they beat mens brains out with an ox-yoke. The same operation was performed in [48] *Iceland*, by dashing them against an altar of stone. In many places they transfixed them with arrows. After they were dead, they suspended them upon the trees, and left them to putrefy. One of the [49] writers, above quoted, mentions, that in his time, seventy carcases of this sort were found in a wood of the *Suevi*. *Dithmar* of *Mersburgh*, an author of nearly the same age, speaks of a place called *Ledur* in *Zeeland*, where there were every year ninety and nine persons sacrificed to the god [50] *Swantowite*. During these bloody

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[45] Παραδοξον και απιστον ἐχυσι νομιμον.—Ανθρωπον γαρ καταστησαντες τυπτυσι μαχαιρᾳ κατα του ὑπερ το διαφραγμα τοπου· και πισοντος τῳ πληγεντος, εκ της πτωσεως, και τῳ σπαραγμῳ των μελων, ετι δε της του ἁιματος ῥυσεως, το μελλον γινεσι. *Diod. Sicul.* lib. 5. pag. 308.

[46] *Strabo.* lib. 7. pag. 451.

[47] *Dudo* of *St. Quintin*, quoted by *Olaus Wormius.* lib. 1. cap. 5. *Juga boum unâ vice diriter iccbantur in capite.*

[48] *Arngrim Jonas.* Crymogæa, seu Rerum Islandic. descriptio. Hamburg. 1609. lib. 1. cap. 4, 7.

See *Bertholinus* de causis contemptæ apud Danos mortis. Hafniæ. 1699. lib. 2. cap. 1. pag. 218. lib. 3. cap. 3. pag. 662.

[49] *Adam Bremensis* de situ Daniæ. cap. 234. He flourished in the tenth century.

[50] Lib. 1. pag. 12. *Dithmar* was born A. D. 976.

festivals a general joy prevailed; and banquets were most royally served. They fed; they caroused; and gave a loose to indulgence, which at other times was not permitted. [51] *Dum sacrificia hæc peragebantur, varii adhibiti sunt ritus, et litationis modi: convivia celebrata magnifica: pars sanguinis postibus illita: pars adstantibus propinata.* They imagined, that there was something mysterious in the number nine: for which reason these feasts were in some places celebrated every [52] ninth year; in others every [53] ninth month; and continued for nine days. When all was ended, they washed the image of the deity in a pool; on account, I suppose, of its being stained with blood, and then dismissed the assembly. Their servants were numerous, who attended during the term of their feasting, and partook of the banquet. At the close of all, they were smothered in the same pool, or otherwise made away with. On which *Tacitus* remarks, how great an awe this circumstance must

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[51] *Olai Wormii* Monumenta Danica. lib. 1. cap. 5. pag. 28.

The like in *Tacitus*. *Læti tunc dies—Non bella inibant, non arma sumebant: clausum omne ferrum: pax et quies tunc tantum nota; tunc tantum amata.* De mor. Germ. lib. 40.

[52] *Erici Olai* Hist. Sueonum Gothorumque. pag. 2.

Dithmar of *Mersburgh*, above.

[53] *Olaus Magnus*. lib. 3. cap. 6. Antverp. 1558. *Erat olim in sacrificiis Gothorum, &c.—numeri novenarii observatio admodum accepta.—Omni nono mense solenniorem venerationem impendebant.*

necessarily infuse into those, who were not admitted to these mysteries: [54] *Arcanus hinc terror, sacra ignorantia, quid sit illud, quod tantùm perituri videbant.*

These accounts are handed down from a variety of authors in different ages: many of whom were natives of the countries, which they describe; and to which they seem [55] strongly attached. They

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[54] *Tacitus* de moribus Germ. cap. 40.

[55] Such was *Arngrim Jonas*, born amid the snows of *Iceland*; yet as much prejudiced in favour of his country, as those, who are natives of an happier climate. This is visible in his *Crymogæa*; but more particularly in his *Anatome Blefkiniana*. I have in my possession this curious little treatise, written in *Latin* by him in his own country, and printed *Typis Holensibus in Islandiâ Boreali. Anno* 1612. *Hola* is placed in some maps within the *Arctic* circle, and is certainly not far removed from it. I believe, it is the farthest north of any place, where arts and sciences have ever resided. They attended monsieur *Maupertuis* to *Torneå*: but that was only a transient visit. They seem at *Hola* in some degree to have made their abode. This book is a defence of his country against the invectives of *Dithmar Blefkin*; and is written with great spirit, and in a style superior to what might be expected from a country so rude, and so remote. In his *Crymogæa* he is obliged to acknowledge, that human sacrifices were offered up in *Iceland*: but he tries at all rates to extenuate the fact, and to make it appear not a general practice. *Cæterùm illa immanitas, illæ Saturni hostiæ, haud diu durâsse apud Islandos videntur: et sanè nec alibi usitata, quàm in duobus locis assignatis, imò nec ejus provinciæ incolis omnibus, ubi exercita est.* Crymogæa. lib. 1. cap. 6. pag. 64. Impress. Hamburgi. *Datum ex Islandiâ Boreali.* 1609.

would not therefore have brought so foul an imputation on the part of the world, in favour of which they were each writing, nor could there be that concurrence of testimony, were not the history in general true.

The like custom prevailed to a great degree at [56] *Mexico*, and even under the mild government of the [57] *Peruvians*; and in most parts of *America*. In *Africa* it is still kept up; where, in the inland parts they sacrifice some of the captives taken in war to their *Fetiches*, in order to secure their favour. *Snelgrave* was in the king of *Dahoome*'s camp, after his inroad into the countries of *Adra* and *Whidaw*; and [58] says, that he was a witness to the cruelty of this prince, whom he saw sacrifice multitudes to the deity of his nation.

The sacrifices, of which I have been treating, if we except some few instances, consisted of persons doomed by the chance of war, or assigned by lot to be offered. But among the nations of *Canaan*, of

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[56] *Antonio de Solis'* conquest of *Mexico*. book 3. chap. 17. book 5. chap. 23.

[57] *Johannes Acosta*, lib. 5. of the *Mexicans*, and the sacrificing children in *Peru*.

Garcilasso della Vega says that the *Incas* put a stop to all such sacrifices.

[58] *Snelgrave*'s Voyage to *Guinea*. pag. 31. 34. He mentions four thousand *Whidaws* being sacrificed, besides people of other nations. To part of the tragedy he was an eye-witness.

whom I first spoke, the victims were peculiarly chosen. Their own children, and whatever was nearest and dearest to them, were deemed the most worthy offering to their god. The *Carthaginians*, who were a colony from *Tyre*, carried with them the religion of their mother country, and instituted the same worship in the parts where they settled. It consisted in the adoration of several deities, but particularly of *Kronus*; to whom they offered human sacrifices; and especially the blood of [59] children. If the parents were not at hand to make an immediate offer, the magistrates did not fail to make choice of, what was most fair, and promising; that the god might not be defrauded of his dues. Upon a check being received in *Sicily*, and some other alarming circumstances happening, *Himilcar* without any hesitation laid hold of a boy, and offered him on the spot to *Kronus*; and at the same time [60] drowned a number of priests, to appease the deity of the sea. The *Carthaginians* another time, upon a great defeat of their army by *Agathocles*, imputed their miscarriages to the anger of this god, whose services had been neglected. Touched with this, and seeing the enemy at their gates, they seized at once two hundred children of the prime nobility, and offered them in public for a sacrifice. Three

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[59] *Poinei sont solitei sos sacrificare puellos. Ennius.*

[60] *Diodorus Sic.* lib. 13. pag. 207. Πλῆθος ἱερέων κατεπόντισεν.

hundred more, being persons, who were some how obnoxious, yielded themselves voluntarily, and were put to death with the [61] others. The neglect, of which they accused themselves, consisted in sacrificing children, purchased of parents among the poorer sort, who reared them for that purpose; and not selecting the most promising, and the most honourable, as had been the custom of [62] old. In short, there were particular children brought up for the altar, as sheep are fattened for the shambles: and they were bought, and butchered in the same manner. But this indiscriminate way of proceeding was thought to have given offence. It is remarkable, that the *Egyptians* looked out for the most specious and handsome person to be sacrificed. The *Albanians* pitched upon the best man of the community, and made him pay for the wickedness of the rest. The *Carthaginians* chose what they thought the most excellent, and at the same time the most dear to them: which made the lot fall heavy upon their children. This is taken notice of by *Silius Italicus* in his fourth book:

Mos erat in populis, quos condidit advena Dido,
Poscere cæde Deos veniam, et flagrantibus aris,
Infandum dictu! parvos imponere natos.

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[61] *Diod. Sic.* lib. 20. pag. 756.

[62] Καθοσον εν τοις εμπροσθεν χρονοις θυοντες τουτω τω Διι των υιων τους

Kronus, to whom these sacrifices were exhibited, was an oriental deity, the god of light and fire, called by the Greeks *Koronus*; and therefore always worshipped with some reference to that element. The *Carthaginians*, as I have observed, first introduced him into *Africa*. He was the same as the *Orus* of the *Egyptians*, and the *Alorus* of the eastern nations. That the name given him originally by the *Greeks* was *Koronus*, is manifest from a place in *Crete*, which was sacred to him; and is mentioned by the name *Coronis*. It is said, that both the chief city, and the adjacent [63] country, were thus denominated; and that these sacrifices were there offered, which we know were peculiar to *Kronus*. [64] Εν δε τῃ νυν Σαλαμινι, προτερον Κορωνιδι ονομαζομενῃ, μηνι κατα Κυπριους Αφροδισιῳ, εθυετο ανθρωπος Αγραυλῳ, τῃ Κεκροπος και νυμφης Αγραυλιδος. If this place, which was consecrated to him (as is apparent by these offerings) was called *Koronis*; it is plain, that his name must have been rendered by the *Greeks Koronus*: and both are a transposition for *Kon-Orus*, or *Chon-Orus*, "the lord "*Orus*," or אור. He was universally adored in *Cyprus*; but particularly in this part, which *Por-*

κρατιστους, ὑστερον ονυμενοι λαθρα παιδας, και θρεψαντες, επεμπον επι την θυσιαν. *Diodorus Sic.* lib. 20. pag. 756.

[63] Εστι δε Κορωνη μοιρα της Σαλαμινος της εν Κυπρῳ. *Steph. Byzant.* It seems to have been an appendage to the city.

[64] *Porphyr.* de Abstinen. lib. 2. pag. 228.

phyry supposes to have been *Salamis*. This is evident from [65] *Diodorus Siculus*, who mentions a city *Ouranie* here. He makes it indeed distinct from *Salamis*: but places it hard by, between that city and *Carpasia*; where the river *Chour* (the *Ouc Our* of the *Phenicians*, and the [66] *Courium*, Κουριον, of the *Greeks*) runs at this day. The *Greeks* thought *Kronus* was the same as Χρονος: but it was an oriental name; and the etymology was to be looked for among people of those parts.

[67] Βηλυς επ' Ευφρηταο, Λιβυς κεκλημενος Αμμων,
Απις εφυς Νειλωος, ΑΡΑΨ ΚΡΟΝΟΣ, Ασσυριοις Ζευς.

The *Greeks*, we find, called the deity, to whom these offerings were made, *Agraulos*; and feigned that she was a woman, and the daughter of *Cecrops*. But how came *Cecrops* to have any connection with *Cyprus*? *Agraulos* is a corruption, and transposition of the original name, which should have been rendered *Uk El Aur*, or *Uk El Aurus*;

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[65] He mentions, that *Demetrius* took by storm *Carpasia* and *Ouranie*. They lay beyond *Salamis* towards the eastern point of the island.

[66] There was another place called *Courium*, mentioned by *Stephanus*, *Strabo*, and *Aristotle* de mirabilibus. It was not far from *Amathus*: and near the spot, where it stood, there is a cape, still called *Canaurie*. See *Pocock*, vol. 2. pag. 218.

[67] *Nonni* Dionysiac. XL.

but has, like many other oriental titles and names, been strangely sophisticated; and is here changed to *Agraulos*. It was in reality the god of light; the *Orus* and *Alorus*, of whom I have said so much, who was always worshipped with fire. This deity was the *Moloch* of the *Tyrians* and *Canaanites*, and the *Melech* of the east; that is, the great and principal god, the god of light, of whom fire was esteemed a symbol; and at whose shrine, instead of viler victims, they offered the blood of men.

Such was the *Kronus* of the *Greeks*, and the *Moloch* of the *Phenicians:* and nothing can appear more shocking, than the sacrifices of the *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians*, which they performed to this idol. In all emergencies of state, and times of general [68] calamity they devoted, what was most necessary and valuable to them, for an offering to the gods, and particularly to *Moloch*. But besides these undetermined times of bloodshed, they had particular and prescribed seasons every year, when children were chosen out of the most [69] noble and

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[68] Φοινικες δε εν ταις μεγαλαις συμφοραις, η πολεμων, η αυχμων, η λοιμων, εθυοντο των ΦΙΛΤΑΤΩΝ τινα επιψηφιζοντες Κρονῳ. *Porph.* lib. 2. pag. 224.

[69] Εθος ην τοις παλαιοις εν ταις μεγαλαις συμφοραις των κινδυνων, αντι της παντων φθορας, τον ΗΓΑΠΗΜΕΝΟΝ των ΤΕΚΝΩΝ τους πρατουντας, η πολεως, η εθνους, εις σφαγην επιδιδοναι, λυτρον τοις τιμωροις δαιμοσι. *Philo* de Phœnic. Historiâ, apud *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. lib. 4. cap. 16.

reputable families, as I have before mentioned. If a person had an only [70] child, it was the more liable to be put to death, as being esteemed more acceptable to the deity, and more efficacious of the general good. Those, who were sacrificed to *Kronus*, were thrown into the arms of a molten [71] idol, which stood in the midst of a large fire, and was red with heat. The arms of it were stretched out, with the hands turned upwards, as it were to receive them; yet sloping downwards, so that they dropt from thence into a glowing furnace below. To other gods they were otherwise slaughtered; and, as it is implied, by the very hands of their parents. What can be more horrid to the imagination, than to suppose a father leading the dearest of all his sons to such an infernal shrine? or a mother, the most engaging and affectionate of her daughters, just rising to maturity, to be slaughtered at the altar of *Ashteroth* or *Baal? Justin* de-

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[70] Κρονῳ γαρ Φοινικες καθ' ἑκαστον ετος εθυον τα ΑΓΑΠΗΤΑ και ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗ των παιδων. *Euseb.* in laud. Constantini.

[71] Ην δε παρ' αυτοις [Καρχηδονιοις] ανδριας Κρονου χαλκους, εκτετακως τας χειρας υπτιας, εγκεκλιμενας επι την γην, ωστε τον επιτεθεντα των παιδων ἀποκυλισθαι, και πιπτειν εις τι χασμα πληρες πυρος. Εικος δε και τον Ευριπιδην εντευθεν εἰληφεναι τα μυθολογουμενα παρ' αυτοις περι την εν Ταυροις θυσιαν, εν ὁις εισαγει την Ιφιγενειαν ὑπο Ορεστου διερωτωμενην·

Ορεστ. Ταφος δε ποιος δεξεται μ', ὁταν θανω;
Ιφιγ. Πυρ ἱερον εισδον, χασμα τ' ευρωτον χθονος.

Diod. Sic. lib. 20. pag. 756.

scribes this unnatural custom very pathetically. [72] *Quippe homines, ut victimas immolabant; et impuberes (quæ ætas hostium misericordiam provocat) aris admovebant: pacem sanguine eorum exposcentes, pro quorum vitâ Dii rogari maxime* [73] *solent.* Such was their blind zeal, that this was continually practised; and so much of natural affection still left unextinguished, as to render the scene ten times more shocking, from the tenderness, which they seemed to express. They embraced their children with great fondness; and encouraged them in the gentlest terms, that they might not be appalled at the sight of the hellish process: begging of them to submit with cheerfulness to this fearful operation. If there was any appearance of a tear rising, or a cry unawares escaping; the mother smothered it with her kisses: that there might not be any show of backwardness, or constraint; but the whole be a free-will-offer-

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[72] *Justin.* Histor. lib. 18. cap. 6.

[73] This is likewise expressed very affectingly by *Eusebius.* Και τις πατηρ τον μονογενη παιδα, και μητηρ την αγαπητην θυγατερα, προσθυον τω δαιμονι· και κατισφαττον οι φιλτατοι, ως τι των αλογων, και αλλοτριων θριμματων, τους προσηκοντας. *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. lib. 3. cap. 15. There is no accounting for the infatuation of these nations, and the inconsistency of their practices. The *Phenicians*, who were so liberal of man's blood, would not hurt a cow; and the *Carthaginians* held it worse than sacrilege to maim an ape.

ing. [74] *Blanditiis, et osculo comprimente vagitum, ne flebilis hostia immoletur.* These cruel endearments over, they stabbed them to the heart, or otherwise opened the sluices of life; and with the blood warm, as it ran, besmeared the [75] altar, and the grim visage of the idol. These were the customs, which the *Israelites* learned of the people of *Canaan;* and for which they are upbraided by the *Psalmist.* [76] "They did not destroy the nations, "concerning whom the Lord commanded them: "But were mingled among the heathen, and "learned their works. Yea, they sacrificed their "sons and their daughters unto devils, And shed "innocent blood, even the blood of their sons "and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed "unto the idols of *Canaan:* and the land was "polluted with blood. Thus were they defiled "with their own works, and went a whoring with "their own inventions."

These cruel rites, practised in so many nations, made [77] *Plutarch* debate with himself, "whether

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[74] *Minucius Felix.* pag. 293.

[75] The *Scythians* received the blood in a vessel: αποσφαζουσι τους ανθρωπους εις αγγος. *Herodot.* lib. 4.

The *Germans* did the same: *effusum cruorem excipiebant pateris, et eo adolebant aras. Schedius* de Diis Germanis. pag. 390.

Cruore captivo adolere aras, et hominum fibris consulere Deos fas habebant [*Druidæ*]. *Tacit.* Annal. lib. 14. cap. 30.

[76] *Psalm,* 106. v. 34, &c.

[77] Περι Δεισιδαιμονιας. vol. I. pag. 297. edit. H. Steph. 1572.

" it would not have been better for the *Galatæ*,
" or for the *Scythians*, to have had no tradition,
" or conception of any superior beings, than to
" have formed to themselves notions of gods, who
" delighted in the blood of men: of gods, who es-
" teemed human victims the most acceptable and
" perfect sacrifice? Would it not," says he, " have
" been more eligible for the *Carthaginians* to
" have had the atheist *Critias*, or *Diagoras*, their
" lawgiver at the commencement of their polity,
" and to have been taught, that there was neither
" god, nor dæmon, than to have sacrificed in the
" manner, they were wont, to the god, which they
" adored? Wherein they acted, not as the person
" did, whom *Empedocles* describes in some poetry,
" where he exposes this unnatural custom. The
" sire there with many idle vows offers up unwit-
" tingly his son for a sacrifice: but the youth was
" so changed in feature and figure, that his father
" did not know him. These people used, know-
" ingly and wilfully, to go through this bloody
" work, and slaughter their own offspring. Even
" they, who were childless, would not be exempted
" from this cursed tribute; but purchased chil-
" dren at a price of the poorer sort, and put them
" to death with as little remorse, as one would kill
" a lamb, or a chicken. The mother, who sacri-
" ficed her child, stood by without any seeming
" sense of what she was losing, and without utter-
" ing a groan. If a sigh did by chance escape,

" she lost all the honour, which she proposed to
" herself in the offering; and the child was not-
" withstanding slain. All the time of this celebrity,
" while the children were murdering, there was a
" noise of clarions and tabors sounding before the
" idol; that the cries and shrieks of the victims
" might not be heard." " Tell me now," says *Plutarch*, " if the monsters of old, the *Typhons*,
" and the giants were to expel the gods, and to
" rule the world in their stead; could they require
" a service more horrid, than these infernal rites
" and sacrifices?"

SOME

FARTHER OBSERVATIONS

UPON

THE PHENICIAN RITES;

AND PARTICULARLY OF

THEIR MYSTICAL OFFERING.

THESE nations had certainly a notion of a *federal*, and an *expiatory* sacrifice. It was derived to them by tradition; and, though originally founded in truth, yet being by degrees darkened and misapplied, it gave rise to the worst of profanations, and was the source of the basest and most unnatural cruelty. I have shewn at large, that *human victims* were very common among the *Phenicians*; and *Philo-Byblius* tells us from *Sanchoniatho*, that in some of these sacrifices there was a particular mystery: κατεσφαττοντο δε οι διδομενοι

μυστικως: "they, who were devoted for this pur-" pose, were offered *mystically*:" that is, under a mystical representation. And he proceeds to inform us, that *it was in consequence of an example, which had been set this people by the god Kronus, who in a time of distress offered up his only son to his father Ouranus.* There is something in the account very extraordinary, which, I think, deserves our particular notice. Part of the passage I have mentioned before. [1] Εθος ην τοις παλαιοις εν ταις μεγαλαις συμφοραις των κινδυνων, αντι της παντων φθορας, το ηγαπημενον των τεκνων τους κρατουντας η πολεως, η εθνους, εις σφαγην εποιδιδοναι, λυτρον τοις τιμωροις δαιμοσι. Κατεσφαττοντο δε οι διδομενοι μυστικως.——Κρονος τοινυν, ον οι Φοινικες Ιλ ωροσαγορευουσι, βασιλευων της χωρας, και υστερον μετα την του βιου τελευτην εις τον του Κρονου αστερα καθιερωθεις, εξ επιχωριας νυμφης, Ανωβρετ λεγομενης, υιον εχων μονογενη, ον δια τουτο Ιεωδ εκαλουν (το μονογενες ετως ετι και νυν καλουμενον παρα τοις Φοινιξι) κινδυνων εκ πολεμου μεγιστων κατειληφοτων την χωραν, βασιλικω κοσμησας σχηματι τον υιον, βωμον τε κατασκευασαμενος, κατεθυσεν. It is told with some variation in another place. Λοιμου δε γενομενου, και φθορας, τον εαυτου μονογενη υιον Κρονος Ουρανω πατρι ολοκαρτοι.

I have shewn, that the most approved sacrifices among the *Phenicians*, were those of men: yet

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[1] *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. lib. 1. cap. 10. pag. 40. lib. 4. cap. 16. pag. 142. lib. 1. cap. 10. pag. 30.

even among these they made a difference; and some were in greater repute than others. Many times they offered human victims indiscriminately, and without choice. At other times they selected their own children, and the most beloved of their children; which was supposed to be a most acceptable offering. But the greatest refinement in these cruel rites was, when the prince of the country, or a chief person in any city brought an only son to the altar; and there slaughtered him by way of atonement, to avert any evil from the people. This last was properly the *mystical sacrifice.* We are informed by the same author, that this custom was instituted in consequence of an example exhibited by *Kronus*, who is said to have been a god, and likewise a king of the country. It appears, that this deity was by the *Phenicians* called [a] *Il:* and in other places he is spoken of as a principal god; though in this passage he is mentioned only as a king, who after his death was deified, and instated in the planet, which afterwards bore his name. He had by the nymph *Anobret* an only son,

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[a] In *Eusebius*, instead of *Il*, the reading is *Israel:* the name *Il* by some copyist having been taken for an abbreviation of the former word, which is often in MSS. written with a circumflex ΐλ. *Utrobique in Eusebii editis, pro* ΙΛ *legitur* Ισραηλ; *quasi tox illa esset hujus compendium. Verùm* Ιλον, τον και Κρονον, *Ilum, qui Saturnus dictus est, Cœli filium fuisse ex Sanchoniathone non semel docuit Philo. Marsham.* Can. Chron. pag. 79.

who for that reason was called *Ieoud*, which in the *Phenician* language expresses that circumstance. This son in a time of great danger, either from war or pestilence, *Kronus* is said to have arrayed in a royal vesture; and to have led him thus habited to an altar, which he had constructed, and there sacrificed him for the public weal. Such is the history, as we receive it through the hands of the [3] *Greek* historian: in which, as it here stands, I cannot see any thing mysterious. If there be no more meant, than that a king of the country sacrificed his son, and that the people afterwards copied his example; it is an instance of a cruel precedent too blindly followed: but it contains in it nothing of a mystery. When a fact is supposed to have a mystical

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[3] *Sanchoniatho* cannot possibly be so antient a writer, as he is represented; if his translator has transmitted to us the real and genuine sentiments of his author. He has a remark upon the *Grecian* writers; which, though very just, if applied to later times, yet was by no means true in the age, when he is supposed to have lived: Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ευφυΐᾳ παντας ὑπερβαλλομενοι τα μεν πρωτα πλειστα εξιδιωσαντο, και τοις προκοσμημασι ποικιλως εξετραγῳδησαν, ταις τε των μυθων ἡδοναις θελγειν επιτουντες παντοιως εποικιλλον. Ειθιν Ἡσιοδος κ. τ. λ. *Euseb.* lib. 1. cap. 10. pag. 39. Could these be the observations of a writer contemporary with *Semiramis*, and prior to the war of *Troy*; as *Sanchoniatho* is supposed to have been? or rather, has the character, here given of the *Grecians*, the least resemblance to that people at so early a season? The strictures are certainly the remarks of a much later historian.

reference, there should be something more than a bare imitation. Whatever may have been alluded to under this typical representation; it was, I believe, but imperfectly understood by the *Phenicians;* and is derived to us still more obscurely, by being transmitted through a secondary channel. The story is not uniformly told; and is besides deeply inveloped in fable. Indeed, the whole of what is left us from *Sanchoniatho* is a mixture of *Egyptian* and *Canaanitish* mythology, together with that of *Arabia, Chaldea,* and other oriental nations: all which is blended together in a very confused and inconsistent manner, and embarrassed with a contradictory theogony. There may be observed in it some faint traces of the dispersion of mankind, and of the first peopling the countries above mentioned: to which are annexed the names of the first founders of the families, who made settlements in these parts. But the whole is so mixed, that it is difficult to sift out the truth. *Kronus* is said to be the same as *Il,* or *Ilus;* and is represented as above [4] *Adodus,* the king of the gods, and *Demaroos,* who was interpreted *Jupiter:* nay, he was superior even to *Astarte,* the great empress of heaven: yet is afterwards degraded to a petty prince

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[4] Αγαρτη ἡ μεγιστη, και Ζευς Δημαρεος, και Αδωδος βασιλευς Θεων, συμβασιλευον της χωρας Κρονῳ γεωμη.

of *Canaan*, who reigned at *Byblus;* and who is said to have built him an house, and to have walled it round for his security. These circumstances are inconsistent. *Kronus* was originally esteemed the supreme deity; as is manifest from his being called *Il* and *Ilus*. It was the same name, as the *El* of the *Hebrews;* and, according to *St. Jerome*, was one of the ten names of God. [5] *Phœnicibus Il, qui Hebræis El, quod est unum de decem nominibus Dei.* *Damascius* in the life of *Isidorus*, as it occurs in *Photius*, mentions that *Kronus* was worshipped by people of those parts under the name of *El*. Φοινικες, και Συροι τον Κρονον Ηλ, και Βηλ, και Βολχαην επονομαζουσι. Now *El* was the name of the supreme deity; and was admitted as such originally among all the nations of the east. They, who applied this name to the [6] sun, still looked up to that object of their adoration, as the chief being, and lord of all things. *Kronus* I have before shewn to have been a transposition from *Con-orus*, "the "prince of light;" which was properly a title of the Deity. *El* was the same as *Elioun*, the Ηλιος

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[5] *Hieron.* Epist. 136. ad Marcellum.

[6] *Servius* in Virg. Æneid. lib. 1. de Belo Phœnice: *Omnes in istis partibus Solem colunt, qui istorum linguâ Hel dicitur.*

See *Vossius* de Idolat. vol. 1. lib. 2. cap. 4.

of the *Greeks*, who is termed by *Sanchoniatho* "the most high:" Ελιουν, ὁ καλουμενος ὑψιστος. He had no one superior, nor antecedent to himself; as may be proved from the same author: αυχμων δε γενομενων, τας χειρας ορεγειν ες ουρανους προς τον Ἡλιον· τουτον γαρ, φησι, Θεον ενομιζον μονον, Ουρανω Κυριον, Βεελσαμην καλουντες· *Kronus* therefore, could not, according to the principles of the very people appealed to, have sacrificed his son to his father: for he was the chief and original deity, and had no one above him, to whom he could make such offering. *Ouranus*, to whom he is erroneously thought to have exhibited this sacrifice, is the same as *El* and *Elioun*; being another title of the same person. It is a transposition of *Ain Aur*, or *Our*, "the fountain "of light;" which the *Greeks* rendered *Our-ain*, and thence constituted *Ouranus* and *Ouranie*. *Ouranus* was taken by them for the vast expanse of the heavens; but was originally no other than the orb of day, from whence all light is derived: under which symbol God was worshipped in the first dawning of idolatry; till the reality became obscured by the semblance, and was in the end totally lost under repeated representations: every attribute, and every title being personated. *Anobret*, by whom *Kronus* is said to have had a son, and who is introduced as a feminine, is by *Bochart* supposed to signify *one conceived by grace*. It may be so: yet I cannot help thinking, that it is the

same as *Ouranus;* and however it may have been by the *Greeks* differently constructed, and represented as the name of a woman; yet it is reducible to the same elements as the former; and is from the same radix, though differently modified. I take it to have been originally *Ain Ober:* and as *Melech* [7] *Ober* signifies "the prince of light;" *Ouc Ober*, "the lord of light;" I imagine *Ain Ober* to be "the fountain of light;" framed by a like analogy, and made an emblem of the divine emanation.

I have been obliged to take these pains, in order to determine, who the deity was, whom the *Phenicians* are supposed to have copied in this particular: and at the same time to show, that nothing could have preceded for them to imitate; but that what they did was *a type, and representation of something to come.* It is the only instance of any sacrifice in the gentile world, which is said to be *mystical;* and it is attended with circumstances, which are very extraordinary. *Kronus*, we find, was the same as *El*, and *Elioun:* and he is termed Ὕψιστος, and Ὑψουρανιος.. He is moreover said to

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[7] Many instances occur of the word עבר being rendered at different times and by different authors, *Aur*, *Avet*, *Aber*, *Ober*. Hence *Melech Ober* of *Hesychius*, of which I have before treated.

have had the *Elohim* for his coadjutors; [8] Συμμαχοι ἱλε τε Κρονε Ἑλωειμ επικληθηναι. He had no father to make any offering to: for he was the father of all, and termed Κυριος Ουρανε by the confession of the author, by whom the account is given. These sacrifices therefore *had no reference to any thing past*, as I have before mentioned; but alluded to a great event, to be accomplished afterwards. They were instituted probably in consequence of a prophetic tradition, which, I imagine, had been preserved in the family of *Esau*, and transmitted through his posterity to the people of *Canaan*. The account is, to be sure, mixed with much extraneous matter; and has been dressed up, and adapted to the *Grecian* taste. But let us make some allowance for the colouring; and divest it, as far as we can, of fable; and we may possibly arrive at the truth, which is concealed beneath. The mystical sacrifice of the *Phenicians* had these requisites, that *a prince was to offer it;* and *his only son was to be the victim:* and as I have shewn, that this could not relate to any thing *prior;* let us consider, what is said upon the subject, as *future*, and attend to the consequence. For if the sacrifice of the *Phenicians* was a type of *another* to come; the nature of this last will be known from the representation, by which it was prefigured.

[8] *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. pag. 37.

According to this, *El*, the *supreme* deity, whose associates were the *Elohim*, was in process of time to have a son, αγαπητον, well beloved, μονογενη, his only begotten: who was to be conceived, as some render it, of *grace:* but according to my interpretation, of *the fountain of light.* He was to be called [9] *Jeoud*, whatever that name may relate to; and to be *offered up as a sacrifice to his father*, λυτρον, by way of *satisfaction*, and *redemption*, τιμωροις δαιμοσι, *to atone for the sins of others*, and *avert the just vengeance of God;* [10] αντι της παντων φθορας, *to prevent universal corruption*, and at the same time, *general ruin.* And it is farther remarkable; *he was to make this grand sacrifice*, βασιλικῳ σχηματι κεκοσμημενος, *invested with the emblems of royalty.* These, surely, are very strong expressions: and the whole is an aggregate of circumstances highly significant, which *cannot be the result of chance.* All, that I have requested to be allowed me in the process of this recital, is this simple supposition, that *this mystical sacrifice was a type of something to come:* how truly it corresponds to that, which I imagine it alludes to, I submit to the reader's judgment. I think, it must

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[9] Supposed by some to be the same as *Jehid. Gen.* 22. v. 1.

[10] Δυναι την ψυχην λυτρον αντι πολλων. *Unum pro multis dabitur caput.*

necessarily be esteemed a most wonderful piece of history. [11]

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[11] See *Porph.* de Abstinen. lib. 2. pag. 225.

Vossius de Idol. vol. 1. lib. 1. cap. 18. pag. 142, 143. vol. 1. lib. 2. cap. 2. pag. 322, 325.

Marsham. Can. Chron. sec. v. Παιδοθυσια. pag. 78.

Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 1. cap. 10. pag. 38. 40. lib. 4. cap. 16. pag. 156.

There was a remarkable festival among the *Babylonians* and *Persians*, called by *Berosus* Σακια, and attended with a particular sacrifice. It is described very fully by *Dio Chrysostom* (Orat. quart. de Regno). He calls it την των Σακκων εορτην: his words are worth transcribing. Ουκ ηνεγκας την των Σακκων εορτην, ην Περσαι αγουσι; λαβοντες των δεσμωτων ενα των επι θανατῳ, καθιζουσιν εις τον θρονον του βασιλεως, και την εσθητα διδοασιν αυτῳ την αυτην, και τρυφην, και ταις παλλακαις χρησθαι τας ημερας εκεινας ταις βασιλεως· και ουδεις ουδεν κωλυει ποιειν, ων βουλεται. Μετα δε ταυτα αποδυσαντες, και μαστιγωσαντες, εκρεμασαν. Εκρεμασαν επι ξυλου: *patibulo suffigebant.*

See *Athenæus*, lib. 14. cap. 10. and the notes of *Is. Casaubon.*

OF

BABYLON IN EGYPT:

AND

SOME OTHER CITIES,

WHOSE SITUATIONS HAVE NOT BEEN TRULY ASCERTAINED.

I HAVE made mention of the city *Babylon* in *Egypt*, and have supposed it to have been built by the *Cuseans*, who were *Babylonians*. This city was situated on an eminence, that was part of the hill of *Arabia*, where were the *Latomiæ*, or quarries, whence the stones are said to have been brought for the construction of the pyramids. It was on the eastern side of the *Nile*, over against *Cercasora*, and the extreme point of *Delta*: and likewise fronted the pyramids on the other side of the river. Every writer, that mentions it, speaks of it as the work of *Babylonians*; but they differ about the time. According to [1] *Strabo*, it was built by some

[1] Lib. 17. pag. 1160.

Babylonians, who revolted, and took shelter in these parts: but he says nothing farther of their history, or of the age, in which they lived. [2] *Diodorus Siculus* attributes it to the same people; and mentions it as an opinion, that they came into *Egypt* with *Semiramis;* but that it was more probable, that they were some captives brought from *Babylonia* by *Sesostris.* [3] *Josephus* differs from them both; and supposes it to have been built by some soldiers of *Cambyses.* This contrariety of evidence in the writers specified shows, that they spoke only by guess, and had nothing authentic to determine them. In one point only they are agreed, that it was the work of *Babylonians.* In respect to *Semiramis,* the accounts of her reign are very short, and obscure, and very much mixed with fable. As to her coming with an army into *Egypt*, *Diodorus*, who mentions this circumstance, does not his self believe it. The history of *Sesostris* is equally uncertain. The time of his reign cannot be fixed within a thousand years. When was he in *Babylonia?* and what captives did he ever bring from thence? The whole is a mere surmise. Lastly, if it was built, as *Josephus* supposes, by some soldiers of *Cambyses;* it must have existed at the time *Herodotus* lived, and he would have taken notice of

[2] Lib. 1. pag. 52.

[3] Antiq. Jud. lib. 2. cap. 15.

it. He was upon the spot, and is particularly exact about this part of the country. He mentions more than once the hill of *Arabia*, and the quarries, that were in it: close by which quarries, and upon the same eminence, *Babylon* is represented to have stood. I do not love to make inferences from the silence of authors. Yet it is scarce to be imagined, that [4] *Herodotus* should be so particular about this hill, and every thing relating to it; and yet omit a principal city upon it, if such a city, or even fortress, had then flourished: especially as he lived but a few years after the supposed construction: yet diligent and accurate as he is, he is silent upon this head. Hence it cannot be supposed to have been so recent, or to have been inhabited in his time. If it had been of so late date, it is scarce credible, that both *Diodorus* and *Strabo* should be ignorant of this circumstance, and *Josephus* alone apprised of it: and that *Herodotus*, if he were acquainted with it, should suppress it. What *Josephus* alludes to, was certainly the rebuilding of this place, and its being a second time inhabited. The history of it I imagine to have been this. It was a city of great antiquity, and undoubtedly built by the [5] *Cuseans*,

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[4] *Herodotus*, lib 2. pag. 181.

[5] In this all writers agree, that it was the work of *Babylonians*, but differ about the time.

when they came first from *Babylonia;* and was the same as *Litopolis:* at least it was a citadel or garrison to that town. After the expulsion of the *Cuseans*, it lay in great measure deserted; being on the *Arabian* side of the *Nile*, and therefore neglected; and the name of it was almost antiquated and lost. After the conquest of *Egypt*, that country became a receptacle for many nations: and this part was particularly occupied by strangers. Some *Babylonians* might settle here: it is certain many of the *Jews* did, after their captivity, especially in the time of the *Ptolemies:* and the hill, on which *Babylon* stood, still retains the name of "the hill of the *Jews.*" By some of these people probably this city was rebuilt, and recovered its original name. Thus much we may gather [6] from *Josephus* to confirm, what I am proving: that *Litopolis* was a very antient place, and in ruins, when the children of *Israel* left *Egypt:* that it was a place of general rendezvous at their departure; from which time for many ages it lay neglected; [7] Βαβυλων γαρ ὑστερον κτιζεται εκει: "for *Babylon* was "built there long afterwards:" so that he allows

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[6] *Josephus* had perhaps said more truly, that it lay in ruins after their departure: for they lived there, and seem to have rebuilt it: but upon their departure it again lay desolate.

[7] Antiq. Jud. lib. 2. cap. 15.

Litopolis (or, as he erroneously calls it, *Letopolis)* to have been the same as *Babylon*, though he differs about the time of its construction. *Strabo* indeed distinguishes between these two places; making *Litopolis* a town, and *Babylon* φρεριον εχυμνον, a strong citadel or fortress: but they were certainly contiguous, being situated on the same spot.

OF

THE CITY OF ORUS,

AND

THE CITY ABARIS.

THE *Greeks* by their modifications of words, and unnecessary terminations often caused names of quite a different meaning and etymology to become nearly the same in sound. There have been by this means two cities in *Egypt* confounded, which ought necessarily to be placed in a proper light; as they stood in the vicinity of each other, and their history is of great consequence in this inquiry. The city *Aur* at the top of *Delta* was called *Auris* and *Avaris*, as I have shewn: and the subordinate district was named in the same manner from it. When the *Shepherd* king and his people are said to have been driven to their city *Avaris*, and there pent up in a fortification of 10000 arouras in ex-

tent; it must mean the land of *Cushan*, which was thus fortified, and was probably of these dimensions. Some copies of *Josephus* call this place *Abaris;* but it is a mistake, as may be proved from [1] *Eusebius*, who writes it truly Αυαρις, *Avaris:* and as he quotes the passage from *Josephus*, we may infer that this was the true reading both in *Josephus* and *Manetho.* There would have been no impropriety in terming the city *Avaris*, *Abaris*, according to the *Grecian* manner of inflexion: only in this place it causes a great ambiguity, as there is a city very near called *Abaris*, of a different meaning and derivation. This has not been taken notice of; but it is apparent, if we attend to the history. The former was by the natives styled *Aur*, or "the city of *Orus:*" the latter, the city *Abarim*, or *Habarim.* This, which had the better title to the name of *Abaris*, stood, according to *Manetho*, [2] προς ανατολην τε Βαβαστιτε ποταμε, in *Arabia*, to the east of the *Bubastic* stream; and was close by *Babylon*, which seems to have been a citadel to it. It was directly over against the city of *Orus*, and close by the quarries: on which account it was called afterwards *Lithopolis.* It is

[1] *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. lib. 10. cap. 13.

[2] *Joseph.* contra Apion. lib. 1. § 14.

said by *Manetho* to have been given to those *Israelites*, who were obliged to work in the quarries, for a retreat after their daily labour. This people were by the *Egyptians* always styled the *Hebrews:* and with great propriety; for it was their gentile name. The wife of *Potiphar* says; [3] "See, he "hath brought in an *Hebrew* unto us to mock "us."—"The *Hebrew* servant which thou hast "brought unto us, came in unto me to mock me." [4] "There was there with us a young man, an *He-* "*brew*, servant to the captain of the guard." By the same analogy this place, which was given to the *Israelites*, must naturally be called by the *Egyptians* "the *Hebrew* city." Now the city of the *Hebrews* is no other than *Air Habarim*, called *Abaris* by the *Greeks*. When *Pharaoh*'s daughter saw the child *Moses* in the water, she said, [5] *De pueris Hebræorum est iste;* מילדי העברים——"It is one of "the children of the *Habarim*, or *Hebrews*." I have mentioned before, that the *Egyptian* language, though it was different from the *Hebrew*, yet is said by St. *Jerome* and others to have retained great affinity to it: and in respect to the names of places, and of people, there could not be

[3] *Gen.* 39. v. 14, 17.
[4] *Gen.* 41. v. 12.
[5] *Exodus*, 2. v. 6.

any great variation. But, although I imagine that this place was called in the time of the *Israelites*, the *Hebrew* city; yet I believe, that the name was originally given for another reason; though the etymology be ultimately the same. It is to be observed, that this city stood exactly in the passage towards upper *Egypt;* for the defence of which it was built by the first *Shepherd* king. The meaning of the name *Abarim* is likewise "the city of the "passage:" of which name there were several places; such as [6] "*Beth Abara* beyond *Jordan;*" and a mountain of the same name near it, mentioned particularly by [7] *Moses*, as standing over against *Jericho* at the fords of the river; and named so from its situation; [8] *ab Hebræo* עברים, *græcè diceretur* το περαιον, *mons Jordani imminens ad Trajectus.* The etymology of this city in *Egypt* was the same, being given on a like account: for it was the key to upper *Egypt*, and stood at the passage of the *Nile.* It was derived from עבר, to pass, as was the name of the *Hebrews:* so that a twofold reason may be given for this name being originally imposed, and for its being afterwards revived, and continued. Both names are from the same

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[6] *John*, 1. v. 28.

[7] *Deut.* 32. v. 49.

[8] *Edv. Bernard.* in Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. 4. cap. 8.

root, *Haber*. *Abram* was called περατης, as were all the *Hebrews*. [9] Περατης ἑρμηνευεται Αβραμ. [10] Παραγενομενος δε των ανασωθεντων τις, απηγγειλεν Αβραμ τῳ Περατῃ, instead of τῳ Ἑβραιῳ. [11] Περαν τε ποταμε παρῳκησαν οἱ πατερες ὑμων το απαρχης.—Και ελαβον τον πατερα ὑμων τον Αβααμ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΥ, και ὡδηγησα αυτον εν πασῃ τῃ γῃ.

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[9] *Origen.*

[10] *Gen.* 14. v. 13.

[11] *Joshua*, 24. v. 2. 3.

OF

ETHAM, AND THE CITY BOUTHAM.

MANY of the places taken notice of in holy writ are described in aftertimes by different authors: but there is one place mentioned in the *Mosaic* account of the march of the *Israelites*, which nobody has taken notice of, but *Herodotus:* this is, according to our version, [1] *Etham*, on the edge of the wilderness; called *Boutous*, and *Boutoun* by the *Greek* historian. There was a city of this name in lower *Egypt*, famous for its religious conventions and festivals, and for a particular reverence shewn to a poisonous species of mole. But the city, I am now treating of, was in *Arabia*, at some distance from the *Nile*, and in the way towards the *Red Sea*. Near this city was a very remarkable spot of ground, which *Herodotus* had the curiosity to visit. He went to inquire about the reality of the flying serpents, with which this place was supposed at times to swarm. And he says, that he was witness to the truth of the report; and saw the *exuviæ* of

[1] *Exod.* 13. v. 20.

them in great heaps, both the bones, and the scales, in quantity beyond conception. And this place, he tells us, where the scales lay in such abundance, was a narrow pass between two hills, that afforded an outlet into a great plain, which reached to the plain of *Egypt;* that is, to the top of *Delta.* And the history of it was this; that the winged serpents came early in the spring to this pass, in their flight from *Arabia* towards *Egypt:* but that the birds, called the *Ibis,* intercepted them at these streights, and prevented their proceeding any farther, by intirely destroying them. [2] Εστι δε χωρος της Αραβιης κατα Βουτω πολιν μαλιστα κη χειμενος· και ες τουτο το χωριον ηλθον πυνθανομενος περι των πτερωτων οφιων· απικομενος δε ειδον οστεα οφιων, και ακανθας. πληθει μεν αδυνατα απηγησασθαι· σωροι δε ησαν ακανθεων και μεγαλοι, και ὑποδεεστεροι, και ελασσονες ετι τουτων. Πολλοι δε ησαν οὑτοι· εστι δε ὁ χωρος οὑτος, εν τῳ αἱ ακανθαι κατακεχυνται, τοιοσδε τις. Εσβολη εξ ουρεων στεινων ες πεδιον μεγα· το δε πεδιον τουτο συναπτει τῳ Αιγυπτιῳ πεδιῳ. Λογος δε εστι, ἁμα τῳ εαρι πτερωτους οφις εκ της Αραβιης πετεσθαι επ' Αιγυπτου. Τας δε Ιβις, τας ορνιθας, απαντωσας ες την εσβολην ταυτης της χωρης ου παριεναι τας οφις, αλλα κατακτεινειν. The spot here spoken of was the second place of encampment, when the *Israelites* departed from *Egypt.* It was the *Etham* of the Scripture, according to our version: but seems by the *Egyptians* to have been

[2] *Herod.* lib. 2. pag. 238. edit. Wesselin.

called *Otham.* Hence in the translation of the *Seventy* it is so rendered: [3] Εξαραντες δε οι υιοι Ισραηλ εκ Σοκχωθ, εστρατοπεδευσαν εν Οθωμ. The city is mentioned by *Herodotus* to have been situated near a narrow pass; and like many other cities, which I have before treated of, was denominated from this circumstance, *Be Otham,* contracted *Boutham:* and so it is rendered in another part of the same translation; [4] Και απαραντες εκ Σοκχωθ, παρενεβαλον εις Βαθαν, ὁ εστι μερος τι της ερημου. This is the *Boutous* and *Bouton* (Βουτων) of *Herodotus;* situated in *Arabia* beneath the mountain, and in the sandy plain, which extended from thence to *Egypt.*

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[3] *Exod.* 13. v. 20.

[4] *Numb.* 33. v. 6.

OF

OTHER CITIES IN EGYPT,

AND OF

THE SITUATION OF ZOAN.

I HAVE mentioned, that lower *Egypt* was called *Delta;* being similar to the *Greek* letter of that name. Each of its extremes was graced with a city, which in its time was of great repute. At the eastern angle stood [1] *Pelusium*, 20 stadia from the

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[1] *Pelusium* was called *Sin* by the *Hebrews*, but by the natives both *Sin* and *Tin*. It signified the black sediment and soilage of the river, as well as the mud of the sea. The city received its name from *Peles*, a chief of the *Caphtorim*, who settled in this part of *Egypt;* but migrated very early into *Canaan*. From *Peles Sin* was formed the *Pelusium* of the *Greeks;* and from *Peles Tin* was derived the *Philistim* of the *Hebrews*, and the *Palestina* of other nations. This people are alluded to *Amos*. 9. v. 7. and *Jeremiah*. 47. v. 4. It is observable, that the word *Tin* had in many languages the same signification, which it had in *Egypt:* and most names, in whose composition it is found, have some relation to mud and moisture; and denote something foul and morassy. Hence among the *Greeks*, Τεναγη, καθυδροι τοποι, υ-

sea, upon the brink of the *Arabian* desert: from whence it was separated by a stream, which it gave name to. Here was the general entrance into *Egypt* for those, who came from *Syria* and *Palestine:* and it was particularly fortified, to prevent any irruption from that quarter. At the other extreme to the west was the famous city *Alexandria*, built by the son of *Philip*, after his conquest of this country. It was for many ages the great emporium of the world; carrying on a most extensive commerce, of which it was itself the center. During the reigns of the *Ptolemies*, it was the seat of royal residence; till that family became extinct, and *Egypt* was made tributary to the *Romans*. These two cities were at the extremes of the basis. At the top or vertical angle was the city *Cercæsora;* of which I have treated at large. Between *Alexandria* and *Pelusium* lay many places of note; whose situation has been tolerably well defined: yet, I know not how, very great mistakes have arisen, where they were least to be expected. The city *Saïs*, one of the most celebrated in *Egypt*, and particularly famous for the worship of the goddess *Isis*, has by writers been strangely misplaced,

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ποταμιος πηλος: *Hesychius.* Τεναγη, διαβροχοι, καθυγροι τοποι, και πηλωδη πελαγη: *Suidas:* it signified moist, and marshy places. One would almost imagine, that the name of the river *Tine*, and *Tinedale* were of the same etymology. See *Cambden's* Britan. vol. 2. pag. 1073.

together with the nome, that it gave name to. Here was the mystical statue of the goddess before mentioned, which is supposed to have been an emblem of divine wisdom, with this remarkable inscription; [2] Εγω ειμι παν το γεγονος, και ον, και εσομενον· και τον εμον πεπλον ουδεις πω θνητος απεκαλυψεν. The true situation of this place may be made evident from its vicinity to others. *Alexandria* I have spoken of, as at the extreme part of lower *Egypt* to the west. Not far from hence was the *Canobic* branch of the *Nile*, and a city upon it of the same name: and from the mouth of this river some chuse to make *Delta* commence; excluding *Alexandria*, that lay beyond it, from being a part of the triangle. [3] Ειτα το Κανωβικον στομα, και ἡ αρχη τϖ Δελτα. This was the most celebrated branch of the *Nile*, and what was chiefly navigated. The first city in passing up the stream was *Canobus;* the next was *Naucratis*. *Herodotus* mentions them both in this light: [4] ες μεν γε Μεμφιν εκ Ναυκρατιος αναπλωοντι: and, ες δε Ναυκρατιν απο θαλασσης και Κανωβϖ δια πεδιον πλεων: intimating, that as people sailed up the *Canobic* branch from the sea, they arrived first at *Canobus*, and next at *Naucratis*, in their way to *Memphis*. They were therefore both on the same arm of the

[2] *Plutarch* de Iside et Osiride.

[3] *Strabo*. lib. 17. pag. 1153.

[4] Lib. 2. pag. 147.

Nile; both seaports, and not far from the mouth of the river. In the vicinity of *Naucratis* was the city *Saïs*, and its nome, situated to the east. They are mentioned in conjunction by [5] *Pliny*, as neighbouring places: but are more particularly described by [6] *Strabo;* επι τω ποταμω Ναυκρατις· απο δε τα ποταμια δισχοινον διεχουσα η Σαϊς. *Ptolemy* speaks to the same purpose: [7] Σαϊτης νομος, και μητροπολις Σαϊς, και προς τω μεγαλω ποταμω απο δυσμων Ναυκρατις πολις. The city *Naucratis* was to the west of *Saïs;* and upon the branch, that was called the great river, by which they meant the *Canobic.* This disposition is agreeable to the accounts of other writers; and is particularly confirmed by the *Notitia Ecclesiæ*, as is observed by *Cellarius:* [8] *In quâ* [*notitiâ*] *Saïs primæ Ægypti Provinciæ, quæ proxima Alexandriæ est, ascribitur. Saïs* then was in the lower part of *Delta*, in the vicinity of *Canobus* and *Naucratis;* but nearer to the latter, δισχοινος απεχουσα: that is, according to the greater schœnus, 15 miles to the east of it; according to the less, about half that distance. The situation of the other principal cities, that lay towards the basis of *Egypt*, may be known from the rout of [9] *Titus*, when he marched

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[5] *Plin.* Nat. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 11.

[6] Lib. 17. pag. 1155.

[7] Geogr. lib. 4. cap. 5.

[8] *Cellarii* Ægyptus. pag. 18.

[9] *Josephus* de Bell. Jud. lib. 4. cap. 11.

towards *Palestine* and *Judea*. He set out from *Alexandria* to *Nicopolis*; and from thence passed by water to *Thmuis*: and from *Thmuis* he went to *Tanis*. The next place, that he halted at was *Heracleopolis parva*, the antient *Sethron*; and from thence proceeded to *Pelusium*. The author of the *Itinerary* enumerates more places in this interval; and at the same time gives their several distances, beginning from the east.

	M. P.
Pelusium - - -	
Heracleus - - -	22
Thanis - - - -	22
Thmuis - - - -	22
Cyno. - - - -	25
Tavam - - - -	30
Andron - - - -	12
Nithine - - - -	12
Hermopol. - - -	24
Chercu - - - -	24
Alexandria - - -	20

In another place, describing the rout from *Pelusium* northward towards *Memphis*, he makes the first stage to be at *Daphne*, which was the antient *Taphaanes* of the Scriptures, and lay from *Pelusium* 16 M. P. This abundantly shows, that *Tanis* and *Taphaanes* as well as *Pelusium* were different cities: their situation being too well determined to admit of any doubt. *Tahpanhes*, as it is sometimes

written, was a place of royal residence in the days of the prophet [10] *Jeremiah*, who speaks of "the "entry of *Pharaoh*'s house in *Tahpanhes*." Above this was [11] *Pharbethus* and its nome: the purport of which I imagine to have been the seat or residence of *Pharaoh*.

I have been particularly careful to determine the situation of the antient city *Saïs*; as I may from thence be able to rectify some seeming mistakes both in the *Grecian* and *Roman* writers; and clear up the obscurity, which has from thence ensued. It is manifest from what I have before said, that this city was at no great distance from the sea, in the lower and most western part of *Delta*. Yet some writers describe it at the very summit of lower *Egypt*, in the vicinity of *Memphis*. *Mela* speaking of cities, that stood very high in the country, mentions this among others. [12] *Earum*

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[10] *Jeremiah* 43. v. 9.

[11] *Pharbethus* is by some said to signify a place for cattle, from *Phar*, an ox. It may be so: but it is generally applied to something of more consequence; and seems to represent either an habitation of men, or a temple of the gods. *Baalbeth* is interpreted *Heliopolis*, or "house of the sun:" *Beth Shan*, *Beth Aven*, *Beth Shemesh* are of the same purport. So *Beth El*, *Beth Rehob*, *Beth Saida*, *Beth Dagon*, *Beth Peor*, all relate either to temples, or else the habitations of princes: so that I can hardly imagine, that what is here meant is an ox-stall. I take *Pharbeth* to be a contraction for *Pharah-beth*, the house of *Pharaoh*.

[12] Lib. 1. cap. 9. pag. 61. edit. Gronovii.

clarissimæ procul a mari Saïs, Memphis, Syene, Bubastus, Elephantis, et Thebæ. *Plato* mentions a very considerable city of this name, the capital of a province; which he places towards the apex of *Delta*, where the *Nile* was first divided.[13] Ἐστι τις κατ' Αιγυπτον ἐν τῳ Δελτα, περι ὁ κατα κορυφην σχιζεται το τε Νειλε ῥευμα, Σαϊτικος ἐπικαλυμενος νομος· τετε δε τε νομε μεγιστη πολις Σαϊς. This is not the position which *Herodotus* gives to *Saïs*: and as to *Strabo* and *Ptolemy*, who are in this point particularly clear, they likewise determine it quite a different way. How can we possibly reconcile accounts so very opposite, and contradictory? These writers had all of them been upon the spot: *Ptolemy* was born in the neighbourhood of the city in dispute; and *Plato* resided thirteen years according to *Strabo*, or, as his *Epitomiser* perhaps more truly states it, three years in the part, of which he makes mention. The latter term is surely full sufficient for a person to get acquainted with the place of his residence. It is not possible, after such an interval, that he could mistake the name of it. We may be assured then, that this difference could not have originally subsisted in the writings of men so inquisitive and diligent; who were eye-witnesses to what they report. The source of this ambiguity arose doubtless from hence. The province, to

[13] In Timæo, vol. 3. pag. 21. edit. Serrani.

which *Plato* alludes, is that, which in the sacred writings is called צוען, *Tsayn*, or as it is termed in our translation, *Zoan*. This the *Grecians* took for *Saïs*, an inflexion from *Saïs*, the city, we have been so long treating of, and have called it by that name. That *Zoan* was called *Zayn* and *Tzayn*, is certain from so many people supposing it to be *Tanis*: for which they had no other reason, than a similitude of sound: they had not otherwise the least inducement to fix it there. *Jerome*, *Theodoret*, *Isidorus*, and many others suppose *Zoan* to have been *Tanis*: but, as I have before observed, they have nothing to alledge for it, but what [14] *Bochart* has comprised in a short compass; *ex Tzohane vel Tzahan factum est Tanis, sedes Aulæ Regiæ*: which, though the inference be not true, yet shows, how the word is supposed to have been pronounced at different periods. It is on this account, that in the *Seventy* we find it rendered after this manner, where the *Psalmist* mentions, [15] "the marvellous "things, that God had done in the sight of the "*Israelites*, in the land of *Egypt*, in the field of "*Zoan*:" Θαυμασια εν γη Αιγυπτω, εν πεδιω Τανεως.— Ὡς εθετο εν Αιγυπτω τα σημεια αυτυ, και τα τερατα αυτυ εν πεδιω Τανεως. For the same reason the *Chaldee*

[14] *Bochart's* Sedes Aulæ Regiæ. vol. 1. pag. 1103.

[15] *Ps.* 78. v. 12. 43.

Hence *Syncellus* calls the *Shepherds* in *Egypt Tanitæ*. p. 103.

paraphrast expresses *Tzaïn* by טאנים, *Tanis:* all which shows plainly, how the original word was at different times pronounced; and that what was the *Zoan* of *Moses*, was the *Tzaïn* and *Zaïn* of after ages. This *Zaïn* the *Greeks* took for *Saïn*, and from hence constituted a new nome and city of *Saïs*.

In respect to *Tanis*, I do not believe, that it was ever the seat of royal residence, or at any time of much note. What reputation it may seem to have gained, has been intirely owing to its being taken for *Zoan:* whence all the fame and magnificence of that antient city has been transferred to this place; and several dynasties of kings have been likewise appropriated, to which it had no pretensions. Some represent it as a large place, though *Josephus* styles it [16] πολιχνην τινα Τανιν. It is said to have subsisted by trade; having little else to depend on. The situation of it was upon a great lake, about three miles from the sea; and like the other seaports in its vicinity, it was bare of many conveniencies, and even of the necessaries of life. [17] *Lacus Alzar propè attingit lacum Tennis, distatque à mari salso (i. e. Mediterraneo)* III. M. P. *Iste lacus præfatus est ingens, et amplus terminis*

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[16] *Josephus* of the march of *Titus:* εκειθεν δε αποβας ὁδευει, και κατα πολιχνην τινα Τανιν αυλιζεται. Bell. Jud. lib. 4. cap. 11.

[17] Geogr. *Nubiens.* Clim. 3. part. 3.

—*Aqua hujus lacûs Tennis, cum Nilus inundat tempore æstivo, dulcescit: cum autem hyberno tempore recedit usque ad æstatem, prævalet aqua maris, atque ideò salsa evadit.* We have a like account from *Cassianus:* [18] *Thenesi Ægypti urbem appulimus, cujus incolæ ita mari vel salsis lacubus cinguntur, ut præ agrorum inopiâ commercium unicè exerceant, marisque opportunitate ditescant: quinetiam solo, nisi aliunde navibus adsportetur, ædibus ædificandis* [19] *egeant.* As *Egypt* had seldom rain, and lower [20] *Egypt* no springs, and this city was so situated as above described; let any one judge, if it could ever have been chosen for a place of residence by a series of kings. All places at the mouths of great rivers, and of a marshy situation, are highly inconvenient, and generally unwholesome. *Tanis* seems to have been destitute both of water and soil; and the whole country about it bad, especially towards *Pelusium.* [21] Μεταξυ δε τε

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[18] *Cassiani.* Collat. 2. cap. 1.

[19] *Est Insula in medio mari. Benj. Tudelens.* pag. 126. and *l'Empereur's* notes, pag. 229. It is called at this day *Tennes* and *Tenesse.*

Ex eo porrò [flumine] quod Pelusium præterfluit, alius derivatur alveus, qui in lacum conversus angustis faucibus mari conjungitur, ad cujus ripam Tenesse, antiquissima civitas, est condita. Leo African. lib. 8. cap. 1.

[20] Των μεν προς θαλαττῃ μοναις ψεκασιν αραιαις λιπαινομενων. *Philonis* Vita Mosis.

[21] *Strabo.* lib. 17. pag. 1154.

Ταυτικὰ καὶ τὰ Πηλουσιακὰ λιμναι, καὶ ἰλὺ μεγαλα καὶ συνεχη, κωμας πολλας ἐχοντα· καὶ αὐτο δὲ το Πηλουσιον κυκλῳ περικειμενα ἐχει ἰλη, ἃ τινες βαραθρα καλουσι, καὶ τελματα. Though this part of the world was inhabited; yet we find it to be situated in the midst of lakes, abounding with swamps and morasses, and full of mud and sea ooze. It was for this reason, that *Alexander*, when he saw *Egypt* so finely circumstanced for commerce, chose to found a new city beyond the precincts of the country, rather than make use of any one already built: though there were some more opportunely situated for the trade, which was to be brought down the river; had they been equally fortunate in other particulars. It is a great pity, that men of learning will not consider the natural history of the places, they treat of, before they determine their situation; as it depends so much on this kind of knowledge. Had these things been sufficiently attended to, the best of the land of *Egypt* would never have been placed in the wilds of *Arabia*, nor in the salt marshes of *Tanis*. And although [22] *Zoan* be represented by the name of *Tanis*; yet they should not have been led merely by sound, but have considered the true representation of the place, as it is to be found in the original writings. Names may be varied and changed: but the context is not so easily perverted.

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[22] See *Bochart*'s Sedes Aulæ Regiæ. vol. 1. pag. 1103.

This city and province is often mentioned with *Memphis*, and occurs always in the vicinity of upper *Egypt*, even according to the version of the *Seventy*, however they may miscall it. [23] Εξελιπον οι αρχοντες Τανεως, και υψωθησαν οι αρχοντες Μεμφεως· και πλανησουσιν Αιγυπτον κατα φυλας.—[24] Και απωλω μεγισανας απο Μεμφεως, και [25] αρχοντας Μεμφεως,—και ουκ εσονται ετι. Και απολω γην Φαθωρης [*Pathros*], και δωσω πυρ επι Τανιν, και ποιησω εκδικησιν εν Διοσπολει. All these places are high up in *Egypt*. But what puts the matter out of all dispute, is a passage in the book of *Judith*; where the country of *Ramesse* and *Goshen* is mentioned; and the chief cities of that part of the world, *Memphis*, and, as it is there termed, *Tanis* are pointed out, and geographical order apparently maintained. *Nebuchodonosor*, king of the *Assyrians*, when he was going to engage in a mighty war with *Arphaxad* of *Media*, [26] " sent unto all that dwelt in *Persia*, and to all " that dwelt westward, and to those that dwelt in " *Cilicia*, and *Damascus*, and *Libanus*, and *Anti-* " *libanus*, and to all that dwelt upon the sea- " coast; and to those among the nations, that " were of *Carmel*, and *Galaad*, and the higher " *Galilee*, and the great plain of *Esdrelom*; And

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[23] *Isaiah*. 19. v. 13.

[24] *Ezekiel*. 30. v. 13, 14.

[25] This part differs greatly from the original.

[26] Chap. 1. v. 7, 8, 9.

" to all that were in *Samaria* and the cities thereof,
" and beyond *Jordan* unto *Jerusalem*, and *Betane*,
" and *Chellus*, and *Kades*, and the river of *Egypt*,
" and *Taphnes*, and *Ramesse*, and all the land of
" *Gesem*," Ἑως τε ἐλθειν επανω Τανεως, και Μεμφεως:
" Until you come above *Tanis*, and *Memphis*." I have quoted at large; as nothing can be more curious, and exact, than this geographical series. And we may learn from this and the foregoing passages, that however the place in dispute may be expressed, it was situated high in *Egypt*, and in the neighbourhood of *Memphis*. And as the authors of the *Greek* version resided in *Egypt*, and knew well the situation of *Tanis* on the sea-coast, and had at the same time these evidences so immediately under their inspection; they must have been very blind and inattentive, if *they* were guilty of this misnomer. I cannot help thinking, that the mistake is owing to persons, who copied from them; and that in the original translation the word was Τσαανις, which has since been changed to *Tanis*. Such alterations are sometimes to be observed in the version of the [27] *Seventy*. [28]

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[27] Where it is said in *Ezekiel*, chap. 30. v. 15, " I will pour " my fury upon *Sin* [*Pelusium*] the strength of *Egypt*;" it has been changed in the *Seventy* to *Saïs*: και εκχεω τον θυμον μου επι Σαϊν, την ισχυν Αιγυπτου. This could hardly be an error in the original translator.

[28] The geography of the Scriptures is wonderfully clear and exact; and appears to great advantage, when compared with that

I have mentioned, that this place, which has been rendered *Tanis* by the *Jews*, was by ethnic writers

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of the ethnic writers. There is in the Acts of the Apostles a description of nations according to their situation, very similar to the account, which I have taken from the book of *Judith*. Πως ἡμεις ακουομεν ἑκαστος τῃ ἰδιᾳ διαλεκτῳ ἡμων ἐν ᾗ ἐγεννηθημεν; Παρθοι και Μηδοι και Ελαμιται, και οἱ κατοικουντες την Μεσοποταμιαν, Ιουδαιαν τε και Καππαδοκιαν, Ποντον και την Ασιαν, Φρυγιαν τε και Παμφυλιαν, Αιγυπτον και τα μερη της Λιβυης της κατα Κυρηνην, και οἱ ἐπιδημουντες Ῥωμαιοι, Ιουδαιοι τε και Προσηλυται, Κρητες και Αραβες, ακουομεν λαλουντων αυτων ταις ἡμετεραις γλωσσαις τα μεγαλεια του Θεου. Ἐξισταντο δε παντες. *Acts* 2. v. 8, &c. What is mentioned, is concerning the gift of tongues at the feast of pentecost: when the *Jews*, and strangers, of all nations, who were come to the passover at *Jerusalem*, heard the Apostles speaking in the languages of every country.—" How hear we every man in our own language, " wherein we were born? *Parthians*, and *Medes*, and *Elamites*, " and the dwellers in *Mesopotamia*, and in *Judea*, and *Cappadocia*, " in *Pontus*, and *Asia*, *Phrygia*, and *Pamphylia*; in *Egypt*, and " in the parts of *Libya* about *Cyrene*, and strangers from *Rome*, " both *Jews* and *Proselytes*, *Cretes* and *Arabians*, we do hear " them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God. And " they were all amazed." I mention this, because I cannot help suspecting a slight mistake in the passage, as exhibited in our present copies. There seems to be a principal province omitted, where the *Jews* resided in *Asia*; and *Judea* is substituted, which could have had no place in the list. To say, that among the nations, residing at *Jerusalem* during the feast of pentecost, were people of *Judea*, would be so unnecessary a truth, that we cannot suppose it would have been mentioned by the Apostle: and that these people of *Judea* should at all wonder to hear the Apostles speak in their tongue the wonderful works of God is a thing impossible; for their tongue was the language of the Apos-

expressed *Saïs*. The *Grecians*, I know not why, seem to have had a particular fancy in striking out, what is the final letter in the original word שׂר, and changing it in many places, where they copied. Thus for *Ilium* they wrote Ιλιος; for *Pergamum* Περγαμος: for *Clemens* Κλημης, for [29] *Crescens* Κρησκης; *Pudens* Πουδης. The word קרן, *Keren* was changed to Κερας; and כהן *Cohen*, the chief person in the *Samothracian* mysteries, was expressed *Coes*: and it is remarkable, that *Josephus*, when he speaks of *Cain* and *Abel*, in his first book of the antiquities of the *Jews*, always calls the former Καϊς; which is exactly analogous to the expressing *Tsaïn* by *Saïs*. [30] Προσηγορευετο δ' αυτων ὁ μεν πρωτος Καϊς.—Καϊς δε τα τε αλλα πονηροτατος ην.—Ενθεν ὁ Καϊς παροξυνθεις. Whence we may gather, that, if a *Grecian* writer be supposed to mention [31] *Tsaïn*, he must call it

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tiles. The people here meant were, I imagine, the *Lydians*; in whose country, and near it, were the cities *Sardis*, *Thyatira*, *Colossæ*, *Laodicea*, in all which the *Jews* resided in great numbers: all that part of *Asia* was full of them. There is a geographical order observed in this detail of nations, as far as it could be maintained: which is interrupted by the mentioning of *Judea*. This country did not belong to the series: yet is introduced with the nations of *Asia minor*; though it was nearer to *Egypt*. The passage, I imagine, stood originally in this manner —Παρθοι, και Μηδοι, και Ελαμιται, και οι κατοικουντες Μεσοποταμιαν, Καππαδοκιαν τε και Ανδιαν, κ. τ. λ.

[29] 2 *Timothy*. 4. v. 10. 21.

[30] *Joseph*. Antiq. Jud. lib. 1. cap. 2.

[31] The author means only in respect to the termination.

Saïs, according to the common usage of his language. What *Plato* terms Σαϊτικος νομος, had been more truly expressed Σαϊνιτικος and Τσαϊνιτικος. So likewise in *Pomponius Mela*, the city near *Memphis*, mentioned among those so remote from the sea, might instead of *Saïs*, have been with more propriety written *Tsaïs*, being the *Tsaïn* of the *Egyptians:* but this would not have been consonant to the analogy of the two languages.[32]

What has been here said may in some degree remedy a difficulty, which occurs in *Manetho*, where he speaks of the city *Abaris*. He tells us, that the first *pastor* king *Salatis* built it in the nome of *Saïs*, on the east side of the river *Bubastus*. Ευρων δε [Σαλατις] εν νομω τω Σαϊτη πολιν επικαιροτατην, κειμενην μεν προς ανατολην τε Βαβαστε ποταμε, καλεμενην δ' απο τινος αρχαιας θεολογιας Αβαριν, ταυτην εκτισε.[33] Now this city *Abaris* I have shewn to have been over against the apex of *Delta*, where the *Nile* was first divided, at a great distance from the city and nome of [34] *Saïs:* and the river of [35] *Bubastus* was

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[32] They have no words, which begin with those double letters.

[33] *Joseph.* contra Apion. lib. 1. § 14.

[34] *Saïs*, at the distance of three days sailing down the river from *Cairo;* called now *Se al Hajar*, or antient *Saïs*. *Egmont* and *Heyman*. vol. 2. pag. 118.

[35] The river of *Bubastus* was the upper part of the great *Pelusiac* branch of the *Nile;* at the commencement of which the city *Abaris* was situated.

equally remote: so that these circumstances cannot be reconciled, but upon the principles above.

Syncellus seems to have perceived a mistake; and [36] endeavours to amend it in another manner, by substituting for the *Saïtic*, the *Sethroïtic* nome. This is an arbitrary manner of proceeding; and not supported by any authority: but it favours his notion, that *Zoan* was *Tanis*, to which *Sethron* was next in situation. But there was no relation between *Zoan* and *Tanis:* and they who have maintained this notion, have been misled by a similitude of sound; and that but a faint resemblance: which at any rate would be too fallacious to found an opinion upon, when unsupported by other [37] evidence.

We may learn from what has been said, that the name of the province *Zaïn* was of antient date; and the memory of it almost effaced in the time of the *Grecians*. *Plato* however, and *Mela* have preserved it; but with some variation. They both describe it at the very top of lower *Egypt*, at the first division of the *Nile*. I have abundantly shewn, that the land of *Goshen* was there; that it was a place of pastures, the plain of *Egypt*, and the particular spot, where the *Israelites* resided: in other

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[36] *Syncellus*. pag. 61.

[37] Had he called it the *Sethite* nome, instead of the *Sethroïte*, he would have been nearer the truth; as hereafter will appear.

words it was the field of *Zoan*. As the *Saïs* of *Plato* and *Mela* was here, I think that there can be no doubt, but it was the same place, of which we have been treating, the *Zaïn* or *Zoan* of the Scriptures.

It may be thought, that I have inferred more from *Plato*, than is contained in his words—[38] περὶ ὃ κατὰ κορυφὴν σχίζεται τὸ τῆς Νείλου ῥεῦμα: which may be said not to have been designed to describe the situation of the nome and city of *Saïs*, but to define the figure of *Delta*. If this be the case, *Plato* is guilty of great impropriety; and his drift is unaccountable. The exact situation of cities is defined by others in their vicinity, and by the provinces, which are nearest. But *Plato*, in mentioning a city, dwells upon circumstances the most remote from it; and instead of a general description of the place gives a partial account of the country. What is it to the purpose in the introduction of a story, which related to *Saïs*, to mention, that the *Nile* was divided at the top of *Delta*; unless it was designed to signify, that the city was in the vicinity of that part of *Egypt*? Besides, it is not *Plato* only, who places a city in these parts; but *Mela* likewise: and we learn from *Eusebius*, that the first *Pastor* king, who reigned, was a *Saïte*: and that prince was far enough removed from lower *Saïs*.

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[38] In Timæo. vol. 3. pag. 21.

Manetho indeed calls this king by the name of *Salatis:* but *Eusebius*, who seems to have been particularly diligent and inquisitive, calls him, as I have before observed, *Saïtes;* intimating, that he was of the province of *Saïs*. *Africanus* mentions him in the same manner: but adds farther, that it was his real name; which he did not take from the province, but bequeathed the name to it: ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Σαϊτης νομος ἐκλήθη. If the province, which was called after him, was by the *Greeks* termed *Saïtes*, it is very manifest that the name of this prince was *Saït* or *Saïd;* a name very common among the *Arabians* at this day; and which occurs in histories of the most remote antiquity. He held the greater part of *Egypt* tributary; but was properly termed king of *Zoan:* for that was particularly the *Cusean* province. This title in the original language was *Melech Al Tzaan* or *Tsaïn:* but for *Al Tsaïn* the *Greeks* by mistake put *Salatin;* wherein there is no essential change, but a mere transposition of letters: which arose from their not being expert in reducing the elements to order: just as they formed *Ourotal* from אל אנרה. It is to be observed, that this person was certainly king of this part of *Egypt* called צען *Tsaïn:* and the name *Salatis* naturally resolves itself into words of the same composition and purport: which we cannot suppose to be merely the effect of chance. We may therefore, I think, be satisfied, that the *Salatis* of *Manetho* and *Josephus* was derived from the *Me-*

lech al Tsaïn of the *Cuseans*, changed to *Salatin*, and with the *Greek* termination *Salatis*.

What I have said may remedy the seeming contradiction, which has subsisted between writers about these two cities of the same name: but it does not precisely certify the situation of that, which is mentioned by *Plato*: the other is sufficiently determined. The upper part of *Delta* has been amply described: the land of *Goshen* was there; which I have shewn was a portion of the field of *Zoan*: consequently in these parts must have been the city in request. According to *Plato*, the city *Saïs* was near the point of *Delta*, where the *Nile* was first divided; and where stood the city *Cercasora*. If we suppose this to be the exact situation of *Tsaïs*, these two must have been one city under different names. This is possible: but there are circumstances, which render it highly improbable. In respect to *Cercasora*, I have described it as the first city in *Delta*, which occurred in passing down the *Nile*: but it is not spoken of as a large city; and was besides in the neighbourhood of *Heliopolis*, to which it was in every respect inferior. On the other hand, the *Saïs* of *Plato* is represented as a principal city, if not the most considerable of any; μεγιστη πολις Σαϊς; a character not at all applicable to *Cercasora*. I should therefore be induced to think that *Heliopolis* was the city alluded to under the name of *Saïs*: that it was the *Zaïn* or *Zoan* of the Scriptures; where the sacred

writers seem to have fixed the residence of the *Pharaohs*, during the abode of the *Israelites* in *Egypt*. Hence *Joseph* took his wife, the daughter of *Potipherah*: and there are not wanting other [39] writers, who affirm, that the kings of *Egypt* did reside here in those times. [40] Και πολλων βασιλεων ἡγουμενων, Παλμανωθης εβασιλευσε των περι Ἡλιουπολιν τοπων; so that if this authority may be admitted, *Heliopolis* was certainly *Zoan*. As to the country of this name, I imagine it to have been the province originally possessed by the *Cuseans*, where they particularly inhabited; the same as the land of *Goshen*. The name of it was grown obsolete in the time of the *Grecians*; and was otherwise neglected by them: for they omitted the genuine names of places, which they treated of, as barbarous; and substituted others of their own framing, such as *Diospolis*, *Panopolis*, *Cynopolis*, *Licopolis*, *Pelusium*, names given from the supposed object of worship in those cities, and from other mistaken notions. And as they changed *Tanin* to

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[39] Και μαθων ποιμενας ειναι τους μετ' αυτου, συνεχωρησεν αυτοις την εν Ἡλιου πολει κατοικησιν. *Zonaras*, lib. 1. cap. 11. It was not at *Heliopolis* that the *Israelites* resided, but in *Goshen*; which in the time of the *Greeks* was indeed included, and absorbed in the nome of *Heliopolis*. These evidences however bring us near the scene of action: and shew, that in this part of *Egypt* these occurrences did happen.

[40] *Chron. Pasch.* pag. 63.

Saïs, it caused so much uncertainty between that city and the other of the same name, that they were glad to define it by a circumstance peculiar to itself, and call it the *city of the Sun*: which was a name, that did not properly relate to the city, but to the temple, so greatly celebrated; called *On*, *Ain*, and *Ain Shemesh*; by them interpreted *Heliopolis*. And as they were fond of attributing to every city a nome of the same name, they called the province the *Heliopolitan* nome; so that the original name both of *Goshen*, and of *Tsaan* became in a manner obliterated and lost. Of the last some faint traces only are to be found in the authors, which I have had recourse to, in *Plato*, *Manetho*, and *Pomponius Mela*.

It is extremely remarkable, that among the many dynasties of *Egyptian* kings, who reigned at different places, there is no list transmitted to us of any *Heliopolitan* princes. Yet *Heliopolis* was a seat of royalty: and kings did certainly reign there; of whom there are many memorials. The only reason, that can be supposed for this omission is, that they were called kings of *Tsaan*, and on that account have by mistake been transferred to *Tanis*: of whose kings there are several dynasties; though it was not a place of great eminence. Some too have been attributed to *Saïs*.

I made mention lately of a prophecy in [41] *Ezekiel*,

[41] Chap. 30. v. 14, 15.

from which much, I think, may be inferred to the present purpose. The part of it, which I shall make use of, stands thus in our translation: "And "I will make *Pathros* desolate, and will set fire "in *Zoan*, and will execute judgments in *No*. "And I will pour my fury upon *Sin*, the strength "of *Egypt*; and I will cut off the multitude of "*No*." There seems to be a secret allusion in this prophecy to the history, and circumstances of each place specified: and the punishments threatened are particularly adapted to the cities, which are to suffer. *Pathros* was the populous *Thebaïc* province, the capital of which was immense; having, if we may credit *Homer*, no less than an hundred gates. *No*, translated *Memphis* by the *Seventy*, was equally populous: and whereas other cities had their particular gods and particular rites, this seems to have been devoted to every species of idolatry. *Pelusium* I have before described, as the barrier of [42] *Egypt*; wherein all their confidence was placed. Now we are informed by the prophecy, that the multitudes of *Pathros* were to be diminished, and the place to become void and desolate. *Memphis* was to incur more fearful judgments: it was to become an heap of carnage; and God's power was to be visibly exerted over its idols. *Sin*, or *Pelusium*, the strong city, has this

[42] Κλεις της Αιγυπτου και εισοδος και εξοδος. *Suidas.*

particular threat, that it was to be taken by storm, and borne down by fury and violence. The denunciation upon *Zoan* is different from all: "I will "set fire in *Zoan*;" which is rendered in the *Seventy*, και δωσω πυρ επι Τανιν. Why should this city, however named, be particularly doomed to fire? What connection could there be between the place, and the punishment, to which it was devoted? Doubtless, the inhabitants were worshippers of that element, by which they were to be destroyed: and the city, called by the *Seventy Tanis*, and in the *Hebrew Zoan*, was no other than *Heliopolis*; a point I have long been endeavouring to prove. Indeed all *Egypt* worshipped *Osiris*, or the sun: but at *Heliopolis* was his magnificent temple, and particular rites. Hence it is said in the same chapter, that God "will set fire in *Egypt*;" but the place particularly mentioned is *Zoan*. On which account I cannot help repeating, what I have before said, that where the *Seventy* now mention *Tanis*, και δωσω πυρ επι Τανιν, it was in the original translation Τσαν, or Τσανιν. There is a particular allusion in this prophecy, which cannot be made applicable to *Tanis*: but in respect to *Heliopolis* there is a manifest [43] propriety, and correspondence:

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[43] There is all through this chapter a great difference between the original and the *Greek*. For *No*, the *Seventy* read *Diospolis*: and, verse 16, instead of "*Sin* shall have great pain," it

all which is lost, if the words come to be applied to any other city in [44] *Egypt.*

I have taken notice, that many mistakes have arisen from the different manner of writing, which subsisted between the eastern and western nations. Some instances I have produced, where there has been an apparent transposition of the letters, particularly in the name of *Salatis;* which I have supposed to have been *Al Tsaïn* misplaced. It is to be observed that there are four lists of the *Shepherd* kings, transmitted to us by as many different historians; who vary from one another essentially. *Eusebius,* whom I esteem as the most diligent in

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is in their version, ταραχη ταραχθησεται η Συηνη. If we may suppose this to have been the original reading, it alludes manifestly to the *Cataracts:* and the meaning is, that *Syene,* however habituated to noise, shall be deafened with a superior noise, with the clamours and tumults of war, which shall overpower the sound of the great waterfall. The *Cataracts* are immediately above the city *Syene,* at the extremity of higher *Egypt.*

[44] I was once inclined to think, that *Xoïs* might have been the *Zoan* of the Scriptures: but it lies too low to be made to correspond; though it is somewhat similar in sound, and has therefore as good pretensions as *Tanis. Strabo* mentions it as a mediterranean city, at the division of the *Sebennytic* and *Phatnic* streams: εν τη μεσογαια υπερ των Σεβεννυτικου και Φατνικου στοματος Ξοϊς εστι και νησος, και πολις εν τω Σεβεννυτικω νομω. lib. 17. pag. 1154.

Ptolemy speaks of a nome of the same name: Ξοϊτης νομος και μητροπολις Ξοϊς. lib. 4. cap. 5. But he places it among the lower districts. It was too far removed, and too obscure and contracted to have been the *Zoan* of the sacred writers.

his inquiries, has struck off in his account the names of several princes, which are contained in the lists of other writers. Among others, the name of *Staan* occurs not in the list, which he exhibits; and indeed is only to be found in that of *Africanus*. I think, I can perceive a corruption in it; and am persuaded, that the original word was *Tsaan*, changed by the transposition of a single letter to *Staan*. It is the same as *Salatis*, or *Al Tzain*; and for this very reason I imagine it to have been omitted by *Eusebius*. He saw plainly, that it related to the same person, as the other; and that it was merely a word mis-spelt, which *Africanus* could not reduce to order; but taking it for an additional name, had blindly inserted it in his list of the [45] *Shepherd* kings. *Janias*, the fifth in the list of *Manetho*, is liable to the same exceptions. I very much suspect, that the original

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[45] A list of the *Shepherd* kings, as taken from different writers by Sir *John Marsham*: sec. VIII. pag. 102.

Manetho. *Reges Pastores.*			*Africanus.* XV *Dynastia.* *Pastorum Phœnicum.*		*Eusebius.* XVII *Dynastia.* *Pastorum Phœnicum.*		*Syncellus.* XVII *Dynastia* *Tanitarum* IV.	
Salatis an.	19		*Saites*	19	*Saites*	19	*Silites*	19
Beon	44		*Byon*	44	*Beon*	43	*Beon*	44
Apachnas	36	7 m.	*Pachnan*	61	*Aphobis*	14	*Apachnas*	36
Apophis	61		*Staan*	5..	*Archles*	30	*Apophis*	61
Janias	50	1 m.	*Arkles*	49			*Sethos*	50
Assis	49	2 m.	*Aphobis*	61			*Kertus*	99
							Aseth	20
Sum. ann.	259	10 m.		2..		106		959
					In *Chron.*	103		

was *Zanias*, the same as *Tsaïn*, and *Al Tsaïn*, by the *Greeks* called *Salatis*. It is plain that there has been a great corruption of the names, which occur in the lists of the *Egyptian* kings; as none of the authors have them alike. From hence has arisen a multiplicity of princes beyond what the original dynasties consisted of. *Eusebius* certainly saw these mistakes; and endeavoured in part to remedy them: there is otherwise no accounting for his omission of these names, as they occur in those writers, from whom he [46] copied.

As there was in these parts such a city as *Saïs*, at least so rendered by the *Greeks*; one would naturally imagine, that the *Saïte* province was from hence denominated: but it certainly was not: and it is here necessary to make a proper distinction. I have mentioned that the *Shepherd* king took his

[46] There is reason to think, that the like corruptions are to be found in many lists of antient kings; where the same princes are introduced over again by a mistake of their title, or a transposition of their name. In the dynasty of *Assyrian* kings, as exhibited by *Ctesias*, *Africanus*, &c. the fifth prince is *Arius*, and his immediate successor *Aralius*. But *Aralius* seems to be the same name, only with the *Arabian* particle transposed. I imagine it to be a corruption for *Al Arius*, the same as *Al Arez*, the meaning of which I have explained. Thus in the 18th dynasty of *Egyptian* kings, *Armes*, *Armæus*, *Armais*, *Armases* seem to be the same as *Rumeses*, the name of the next prince in the list: and probably they were the same person. Several instances of this sort may be produced.

title from the capital province, *Tzaïn*, which he was first possessed of: but on the other hand, he gave name to the *Saïte* nome, which is not termed *Nomus Saïticus*, but *Saïtes*, and was called so from *Saït*, or *Sáid*, which was the name of this prince. This nome lay principally in upper *Egypt:* but *Tzaïn* was in the lower, and was properly distinct, though by some included in the former. I have taken notice, that the *Greeks* by their inflexions and terminations often rendered things the most unlike, very similar; and made other things to become very like, which at first had no connection nor resemblance. By their changing *Tzaïn* to *Saïs*, one would be led to imagine, that it gave name to the *Saïte* nome, and that there was some affinity between them: but in reality there was no similitude, nor correspondence. The province received its name from the prince, as I have mentioned; but *Tsaïn* or *Tsoan* was the place from whence he took his title; and was consequently of a different etymology. It was a place of pastures, and the original seat of the *Shepherds* in *Egypt*, and undoubtedly received its name from thence; being derived from [47] *Tzon*, *Tzaan*, *Tzanah* (צאן, צנה) which signify sheep, flocks, and cattle. *Tzoan* signifies the *Shepherd province*, as *Cushan* does the *Arabian:* and *Melech al Tzoan* is the *Shepherd king*. What the

[47] *Gen.* 4. v. 2. *Gen.* 47. v. 4. *Psalm* 8. v. 7.

Hebrews expressed צוע, according to the *Egyptian* idiom seems to have been rendered צע.

Such is my opinion about the antient city and province of *Tzoan*. The city I have supposed to have been the same, which was called afterwards *Heliopolis*: and *the field of Zoan* to have been the adjacent country, a portion of the plain of *Egypt*. This *Tzoan* of the *Hebrews*, I imagine, was the *Tsaan* and *Tsaïn* of the *Egyptians*, altered by the *Greeks* to *Saïn* and *Saïs*. It was called both *Tzaïn* and *Cushan*; being denominated from the family, as well as from the occupation, of the people, who possessed it, the *Shepherds*, and *Cuseans*. But the *Saïte* province, though it did include *Tsaïn*, yet extended far above; comprehending *Memphis*, and whatever in upper *Egypt* was in the possession of this people: which province received its name from *Saïd*, or *Saït*, the name of some of the most early princes in that country; but especially of *Salatis*, the first *Cusean* king. What is extraordinary, no time has been able to efface these memorials: and the *Copts*, as well as the *Arabs*, who now possess the country, call all this part of *Egypt Saït*, and *Sahid* at this day. It is mentioned by [48] *Ulug Beig*, and [49] *Nassir Ettusæus*, who place *Cous* in it, a place undoubtedly of *Cusean* original. *Kus*

[48] *Ulug Beig*. Geogr. Vet. vol. 3. pag. 91.

[49] *Nassir Ettusæus*. Geogr. Vet. vol. 3. pag. 123.

in Saït Ægypti superioris. The [50] *Nubian* geographer speaks of it, in his description of places to be passed through in going from *Al Cairo* upwards. *Qui autem egreditur ex Metzr secùs ampliorem partem Nili, intendens Sahid,* &c. But [51] *Leo Africanus* describes it more amply. He makes *Egypt* to consist of three parts, *Errif, Bechria* or *Maramma,* and *Sahid. Errif* is the western, and *Canobic* part of *Delta: Maramma* is the *Pelusiac,* and eastern: and upper *Egypt* from *Cairo* south, is called *Sahid:* which he particularises as being farthest from the sea. *Erriſiæ et Marammæ habitatores Sahidicos urbanitate superant; quòd duæ hæ partes mari vicinæ, ab Europæis, Barbaricis, et Assyriis ampliùs frequentantur. Verùm Sahidici, in mediterraneis ultra Al Cairum habitantes, exteros nullos vident præter raros quosdam Æthiopas.* He moreover tells us, that the province *Sahid* was in antient times the seat of *Egyptian* grandeur: [52] *nobilitatem priscorum Ægyptiorum olim in Sahidicâ regione supra Al Cairum constitisse.* All these circumstances correspond with the country from *Heliopolis* upwards, the μεγιστη πολις, which was situated not much below the spot, where *Cairo* now stands. *Memphis* was about eighteen

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[50] *Geog. Nubiens.* Clim. 3. Part. 3. pag. 99.

[51] *Leo Africanus,* lib. 8. cap. 2.

[52] Ibid. cap. 3.

miles above *Heliopolis*. If any farther confirmation be wanting, it may be obtained from the *Arabic* version of the Bible; where the land of *Goshen* is always interpreted *Sadir*, or *the land of Saïd:* and *Arabian* evidence must have weight in respect to an history of that nation.

[53] *Vansleb* tells us, that *Sahid* signifies a place or region higher than another: but [54] *Leo* supposes it to signify *terrestris*. If my opinion be well grounded, the province received its name from the first of the *Shepherd* kings: and the etymology at this distance of time is hardly to be arrived at. It is pretty certain, that *Saïd*, *Saït*, and *Saïtes* are originally the same as *Seth*, and *Sethus*, a name, by which one or more of the princes of the country were called; and particularly the first *Pastor* king. He is represented in the mythological history of *Egypt*, as the brother of *Osiris;* and is called *Typhon;* and is mentioned as having been in a constant state of war with *Osiris*. He was the first king of the *Auritæ*, as I have shewn: and the dynasty of the *Auritæ* was the most antient of any in *Egypt;* as *Syncellus* witnesses from the old *Chronicle;* though he supposes them to have been gods: [55] [Θεων] βασιλειαν πρωτον των Αυριτων. This name

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[53] *Vansleb.* pag. 13.

[54] *Ab Al Cairo ad Bugiæ confinia, Sahid, id est, Terrestrem.* pag. 666.

[55] *Syncellus.* pag. 51.

signifies, if we may believe *Plutarch*, a person of high rule; a man of violence: but this interpretation I do not much depend on. It was not an *Egyptian* name, but a *Babylonish;* as may be seen in the annals of that nation. And this leads me, before I conclude, to take notice of a mistake in an *Assyrian* or *Babylonish* dynasty, similar to what I have mentioned in the *Egyptian;* which will afford the highest confirmation to what I have been saying. The tenth king in the list is by *Eusebius* termed *Altadas;* and by *Moses* [56] *Choronensis*, from *Maribus* of *Catina*, he is called *Azatagus*. However different they may appear, these are certainly the same name, only mixed, and transposed. *Altadas* is *Al Tsaïd*, or [57] *Seth:* and *Azatagus*, or, as it should be read, *Alzatagus*, is *Ouc Al Tsaït* with the *Greek* termination subjoined. They have suffered a transposition, like that of the name of *Salatis:* but, when traced to their original elements, are found to be *Saïd*, *Saït*, and *Seth;* as they were at different times expressed. *Africanus* puts the matter out of all doubt: for he expressly calls the person *Seth* or *Sethos*, who is the

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[56] *Moses Choronensis* Hist. Armeniæ. lib. 1.

[57] *Theophilus Antiochenus* tells us, that *Seth* gave name to the country. Ad Autolyc. lib. 3. pag. 396. All these little fragments of history accord; and serve to the establishment of what I have been endeavouring to prove.

Altadas of *Eusebius*. Hence somebody has added in the dynasty of *Africanus*, as quoted in the canon of the above writer, Σεθως [Αλταδας Ευσεβιῳ;] that is, "the *Altadas* of *Eusebius* is the *Seth* of *Africanus*."

Whoever would unravel the mysteries, with which the writings of the *Grecians* are obscured, must sometimes make use of their errors for a clue; and from their mistakes find out their meaning. If we take things in the gross, as they occur, we shall find ourselves greatly mistaken. The histories of antient date seem to have undergone the same fatality, as the cities, of which they treat. We see in both surprising memorials of antient achievements; but attended with vast chasms and interruptions, which it is very difficult to supply. The materials too have in many parts been mixed; and evidently bear marks of interpolation and change. They put one in mind of the walls of *Athens*, which were built out of the ruins of the city, when it had been sacked by the *Persians*: wherein were to be seen architraves, pillars, entablatures, fragments of every species of architecture, thrown together without order, or design; and lying in every direction, just as chance had allotted. The like confusion is to be

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[58] *Eusebii* Histor. Συναγωγη. pag. 356.
Αλταδας is a corruption for Αλ Τσαδ.
Αλζαταγος for Ουκ Αλ Ζαιτ.

observed amid the splendid ruins of antient history. It is the duty therefore of a good architect to reduce, if possible, the scattered fragments to order; to raise the inverted column, to adapt the capital to the shaft, and to place all on a proper basis. This, I confess, is beyond my abilities to compass; though, I hope, that I have contributed some small matter towards it; and may possibly make farther advances.

THE END.

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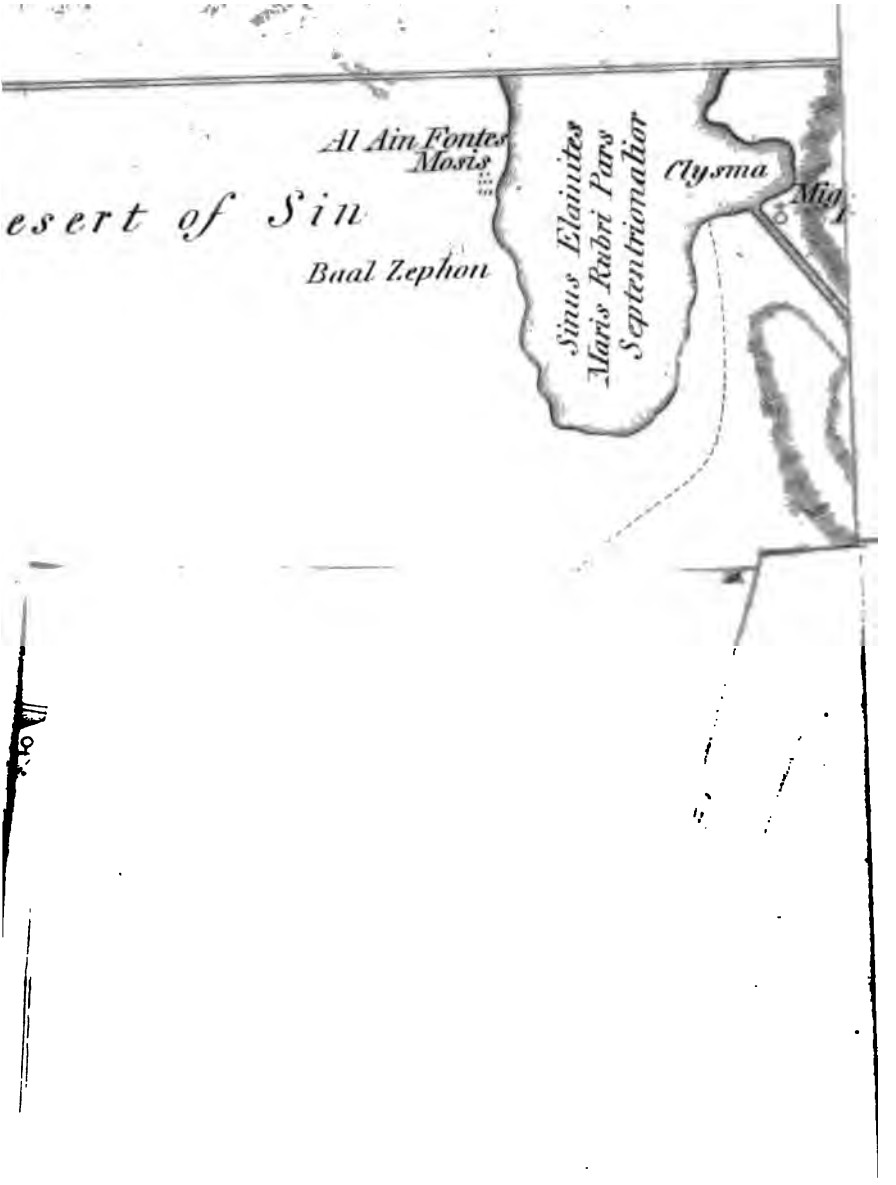
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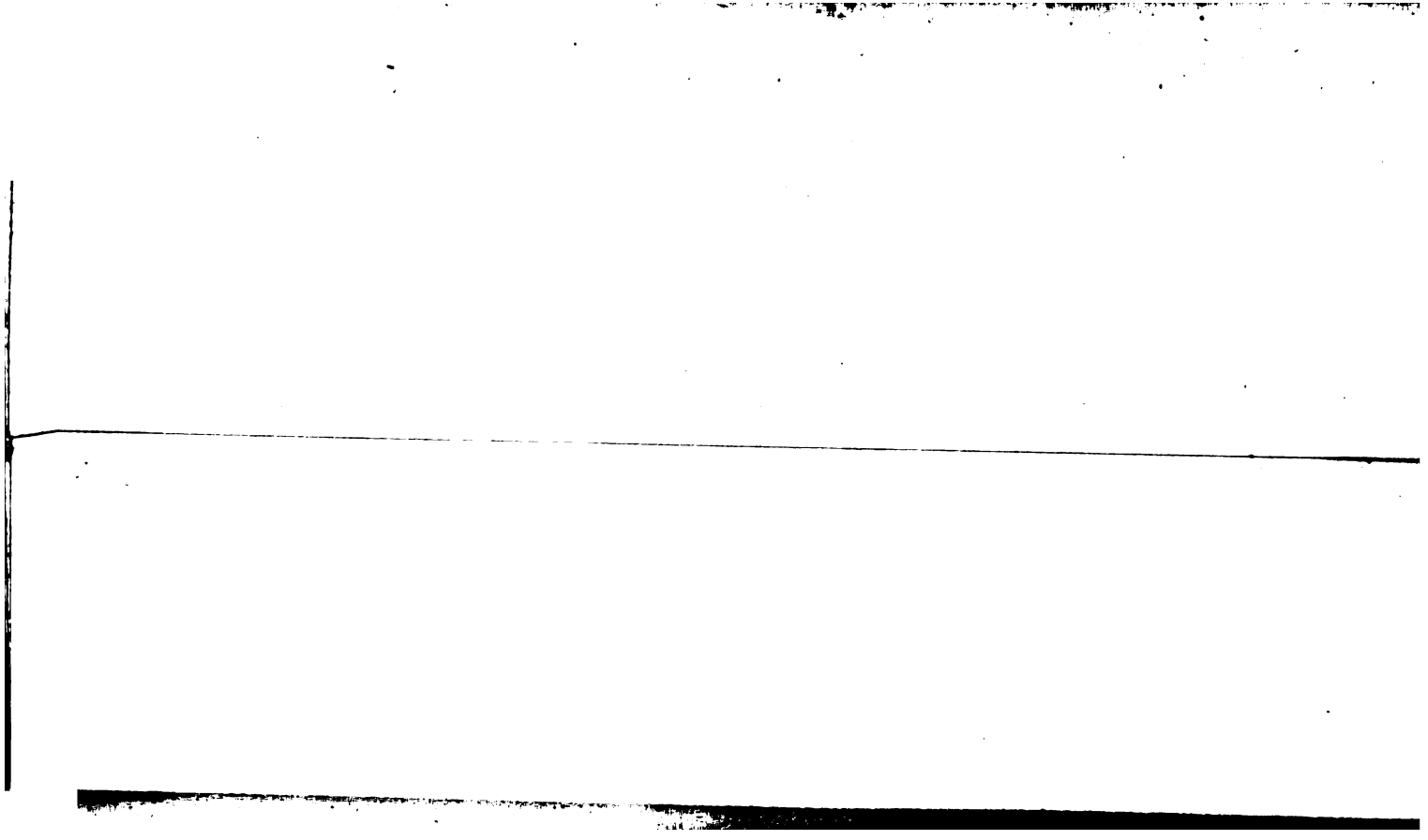

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